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The American Grotesque: Free-Thought Idealism in Edward Bliss Foote's "Science in Story"

Lita M. Tirak
College of William & Mary - Arts & Sciences

The American Grotesque:
Free-Thought Idealism in Edward Bliss Foote's *Science in Story*

Lita M. Tirak

Erie, Pennsylvania

Bachelor of Arts, Mercyhurst College, 2000

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APPROVAL PAGE

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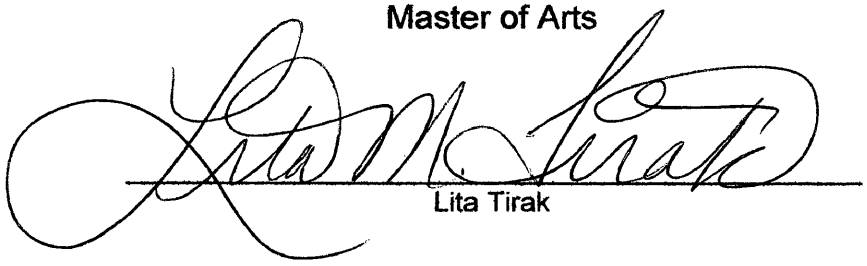

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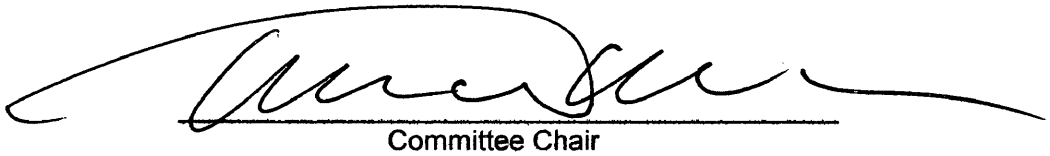

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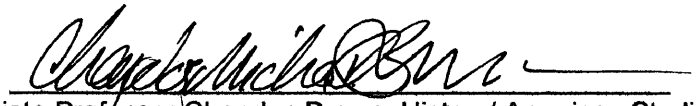
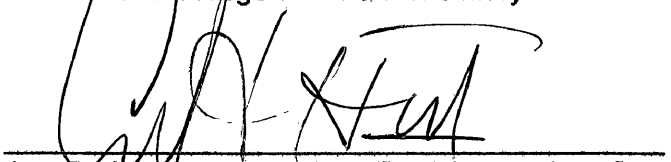
The College of William and Mary



Associate Professor Chandos Brown, History/ American Studies
The College of William and Mary



Associate Professor Arthur Knight, English/ American Studies
The College of William and Mary

ABSTRACT PAGE

Existing studies of the grotesque discuss primarily European works of literature, art, or architecture. Scholarship on the grotesque in America is limited. Applying some of the main ideas from European grotesquerie, this paper explores the American grotesque in a nineteenth-century illustrated children's series: Science in Story: Sammy Tubbs the Boy Doctor and Sponsie the Troublesome Monkey (1874).

Published in New York City, Science in Story aimed to educate pre-teens about human anatomy in an entertaining narrative about a black boy maturing into a medical practitioner, and his sidekick, a roguish monkey. It comprised five illustrated volumes, each chronicling Sammy Tubbs' stages of development with a different educational topic. The final volume taught children about sexual reproduction, a controversial subject in the era of Anthony Comstock's obscenity regulations. The series' author and publisher, Dr. Edward Bliss Foote, was a champion of free speech and a leader of the Free-Thought movement. In Science in Story, he created grotesques that countered the standard notions of beauty and race, and humorously ridiculed the restrictions established by Comstock.

In Science in Story, the grotesques affronted late-century conservative conventions of behavior by exhibiting the human body in text and imagery to promote the radical ideals of Free-Thought. I explore three frameworks—the art historical grotesque, the culture of obscenity regulations, and race science—which I apply to case studies from the text. This study shows how Foote's grotesques destabilize Victorian-era prudery and racial typing; how the destabilization projected Free-Thought idealism; and how his humorous grotesques become forces of free speech within the oppressive era of Comstock.

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DEDICATION

To my father
Jack Tirak
1944-2008

"You have been through a great deal to get this far. You have invested significant time and resources. Don't let anyone talk you down from your dreams. If it is worth dreaming....it is worth putting to the extra effort out to make it happen. Whatever you do, don't give up."

"Never trust a naked busdriver."

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Introduction

"Let it be the pride of our American youth to begin, if necessary, at the very bottom step, and with firm hands, honest hearts, and clear heads, commence the difficult ascent, keeping in mind such marked examples of honorable success as are present in the lives of Franklin, Lincoln, and Greeley." (Foote 4:50)

When Americans traveled to Europe in the late nineteenth-century, they surveyed architectural ruins with hybrids sculpted in reliefs and witnessed performances in carnivals that they described as "grotesque."[1] Although the United States had few of these grotesques, there were American varieties in museums, literature, art, illustrations, cartoons, and public displays. Some remaining artifacts of nineteenth-century American grotesquerie, when made by social conservatives, reflected and promoted racism as well as anxieties about the human body's most intimate processes. By contrast, when conceived by social liberals, American grotesques were progressive in exposing racial prejudice and supporting anatomical knowledge. A compelling text to explore the American grotesque is the nineteenth-century children's literary series *Science in Story: Sammy Tubbs the Boy Doctor and Sponsie the Troublesome Monkey* (New York, 1874). Written and published by a liberal Free-Thinker, Dr. Edward Bliss Foote, *Science in Story* is a grotesque work, offering a provocative dialogue between social liberalism and social conservatism.

Science in Story aimed to educate pre-teens about human anatomy in an entertaining narrative about a black boy maturing into a medical practitioner, accompanied by his sidekick, a roguish monkey. The series comprised five volumes illustrated by Henry L. Stephens, each chronicling Sammy Tubbs' stages of

[1] Rawlings 2004, 181. Analyzing the writings of James and other literary figures, Rawlings contends that the grotesque and the picturesque were perceived as inseparable in the nineteenth-century.

development with a different educational topic.[2] The final volume taught children about sexual reproduction, a controversial subject in the era of Anthony Comstock's obscenity regulations.

Science in Story begins nine years after the conclusion of the Civil War. The narrative centers on Sammy Tubbs, a nine-year-old emancipated slave child originally from Tennessee, who lives in New York with his father (a whitewasher) and his mother (a laundress). A white physician by the name of Dr. Samuel Hubbs (a character representing Foote in the story) hires Sammy as the door-usher to his medical office.[3] Under the tutelage of Dr. Hubbs, he also learns the fundamentals of anatomy and hygiene. His development into a prodigy enables him to lecture in Lincoln Hall, attend a lavish masked ball, and build support for the opening of his own medical practice, a gymnasium, and finally a dispensary. Ambitious and progressive at the age of fifteen, Sammy teaches the reproductive system to male and female groups of mixed races and initiates an interracial romance with a wealthy Caucasian woman. The series concludes with Sammy's acceptance into medical school.

Michael Sappol was the first contemporary scholar of *Science in Story* and included a chapter on "Minstrelsy and Self-Making" in his book *A Traffic of Dead*

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[2] v.1 "The Boy Tubbs: The Bones, Cartilages and Muscles;" v.2 "The Student Tubbs: Circulation and Absorption;" v.3 "The Practitioner Tubbs: Digestive, Nutritive, Respiratory, and Vegetative Systems;" v. 4 "The Lecturer Tubbs: Brain and Nerves, Cerebral Physiology;" and v. 5 "The Gymnast Tubbs: Elimination and Reproduction."

[3] Foote notes the coincidence in their names. "But you often see just such funny associations of names on the signs of store-keepers, shoemakers, and so forth. Even the good *Doctor's* name was *Doctor Samuel Hubbs*, while that of his door-boy was eventually to be *Doctor Samuel Tubbs*." (1:8) Through their names, Foote created a relationship between both characters and an extension of himself within the two.

Bodies (2002). Contrary to the belief that the nineteenth-century was the era of the "self-made man," Sappol argues that it was of the "man-made self".[4] Self-learning about the body and its processes became a fashionable subject for the American bourgeois.[5] Self-maintenance and hygiene contributed to personal health, thereby improving overall bodily beauty. Sappol contends that *Science in Story* reflected this movement of self-making through anatomical education for the socially privileged.

My study does not challenge Sappol's thesis. Instead, it explores *Science in Story* with an emphasis on the grotesque, its setting within New York City during the era of the Comstock laws, its aesthetics and evolutionary theory, and the humor that it conveyed.

Grotesques punctuate this series with flyaway kites, practical jokes performed with skeletons and feces, ghost monkeys, costumed acrobats dressed in animal skins, animal magnetism, zoological displays in Central Park, and a "singing vagina."[6] These ingredients surround the hierarchy of the monkey, the black boy, and the white doctor.

As a contribution to American Studies, my study highlights the under-explored subject of the grotesque in America and its diverse meanings linked to post-bellum Free-Thought—an outgrowth of social liberalism. This is also a study of Foote himself, an American figure who only recently has received some scholarly notice, and his creative efforts to purport Free-Thought ideals through imaginative symbols in his text and images. The grotesque in *Science in Story* reveals what would

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[4] Sappol 2002, 239.
[5] Sappol 2002, 191.
[6] Michael Sappol termed a figure in a diagram the "singing vagina." See Sappol 2002, 268.

have been the nightmares of a prudish and racist public, and conversely, it incorporates the idealistic fantasies of social liberals. Comprehensively, my study of the grotesque offers a glimpse of the hopes and fears of socially liberal and conservative Americans in the late nineteenth-century.

I argue that the grotesque in *Science in Story* affronted late-century conservative notions of behavior by exhibiting the human body in text and imagery to promote free-thought ideals. I explore three frameworks—the art historical grotesque, the culture of obscenity regulations, and race science—which I apply to case studies from the text. I show how Foote's grotesques undermined Victorian-era prudery and racial typing; how the destabilization projected Free-Thought idealism; and how his humorous grotesques became forces for free speech within the oppressive era of Comstock. Each chapter presents an archive of materials derived from art history, nineteenth-century visual culture, and historical anthropology which buttresses the meanings associated with the term "grotesque."

In the first chapter, I introduce the origins of the grotesque with examples from art history, interpret its meanings within nineteenth-century visual culture, and then present illustrations from *Science in Story* that demonstrate these meanings. At the end of this chapter, I propose a definition of "grotesque" for my analysis.

Next, in order to understand the series within its time period and geographic location, I contextualize Foote's career and authorship during the years of the obscenity regulations in New York City. I present a comparative analysis of the meanings of the grotesque and the obscene, examining the alignment of Free-Thought

with the grotesque. Emerging from this analysis is a probe into the racial sensitivities of the 1870s, with a discussion of how black children were represented to white children, and how *Science in Story* was constructed as literary entertainment.

The third chapter explores the aesthetics of race science as a measure of beauty and a tool for artists, with an emphasis on Stephens' illustrations. Understanding the aesthetics of race science helps us comprehend Foote's view of evolutionary theory and its grotesque dimensions within the series. By designating Sammy as a transformative model of self-improvement, Foote destabilized the racial typing of the period and presented a rare positive image of the black body in children's literature.

Foote's Free-Thought liberalism is epitomized in *Science in Story's* image of a positive interracial romance between Sammy and a Caucasian woman—featured in the fourth chapter. Although many Americans believed that miscegenation was a grotesque act that spawned undesirable hybrids, Foote treats miscegenation as the ultimate form of racial equality.

In the fifth chapter I identify some of Foote's grotesques as conveyers of humor that embodied the carnivalesque tropes of degeneration and regeneration. I explore how these symbolized the ideals of Free Thought and promoted freedom of speech in opposition to the obscenity regulations.

Science in Story is not an accurate portrayal of life in post-bellum America. On the contrary, it is an important series that endeavored to create a new generation of enlightened young people. Written for American youth, Foote's narrative

communicates a critical consciousness of racial prejudices and comfort in the attainment of anatomical knowledge. By introducing the children and teenagers to socially liberal ideals, Foote hoped to gain allies in his battle against conservative prudery.

Chapter I. The Grotesque: What Lies Beneath

"It is said that the reason that the shrubs and the trees of our beautiful cemeteries grow so rank, and throw out such rich foliage, is because they take back to themselves that which they have only loaned to the human body during the brief period that it is animated with life." (Foote 3:231)

Existing scholarship examines the grotesque as styles in art history, or as characters and plot concepts in literature.[7] The grotesque in literature draws from the meanings of the grotesque in art history. Since the illustrations in *Science in Story* are dependent upon the narrative for interpretation, I consider Foote's grotesques as amalgams of imagery and text.

Analyzing this series as a collection of grotesques requires a firm grounding on the origins of the grotesque's meaning in art history. As Frances Barasch explained in *The Grotesque: A Study in Meanings* (1971), the "grotesque" is dependent upon geographical region, time period, and medium. In compiling *Modern Art and the Grotesque* (2003), Frances Connelly simplified Barasch's multiple forms.[8] I apply her terminology of the ornamental, diablerie, and carnivalesque grotesques to examples from art history, reinterpret them as aspects of nineteenth-century visual culture, and present *Science in Story*'s images that illustrate each type of grotesque. I will also cite Mikhail Bakhtin's study of the carnivalesque in his interpretation of Rabelais, and John Ruskin, who devised the theory of the "grotesque

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[7] See Bakhtin 1984, Barache 1971, Cassuto 1997, and Connelly 2003.

[8] In her introduction, Connelly's three forms of art grotesques (ornamental, carnivalesque, and emblematic) paired diablerie with the carnivalesque. She termed the third form of grotesque the "emblematic" version, which primarily referred to ancient art and its pictorial language. The emblematic was didactic, communicating with only visual symbols--not words. *Science in Story* did not contain the emblematic strain because its illustrations, including the scientific diagrams, required text for interpretation.

ideal." These meanings compose an aggregate definition of the grotesque that the next chapter contextualizes within nineteenth-century New York.

Grotesque originated from the word "grotta" which denoted an underground cavern. In the fifteenth-century, paintings on the ceilings and walls of the Titus Baths in Rome received the designation of "grottesche" due to their ornate fantastical designs and imagery of the pagan world. Associated with the hidden, they depicted hybrid creatures, and monstrosities in perpetually shifting shapes. The engraving [Fig 1] of an ornamental panel displays satyrs, sirens, cupids, minstrels and other fantastics sprouting leafy tendrils, creating a decorative pattern with their twisting bodies. A century later, imitations of these antique paintings continued to signify "grottesche." Giorgio Vasari expanded the meaning from imitations of antique wall painting decorations to include an amalgamated, fantastical style in Italian Renaissance sculpture and architecture which alluded to "bizarre fantasies." John Ruskin, the nineteenth-century British art critic, called this artistic current "The Grotesque Renaissance."[9]

Long before these hybrid forms signified "grottesche," Horace criticized the inventions in his literary work *Ars Poetica* (c. 18 B.C.). He labeled them "aegri somnia"—which means a sick man's dreams: "If a painter chose to join a human head to the neck of a horse and to spread feathers of many a hue over limbs picked up now here now there, so that what at the top is a lovely woman ends below in a black and ugly fish, could you, my friends, if favored with a private view, refrain from laughing? Painters and poets alike have always had the right to dare. That is true

[9] Barasch 1971, 24.

enough."[10] Horace and his contemporary, Vitruvius, observed that these fantasies were unnatural because of their mating of the wild and the tame.[11]

The ornamental grotesque refers to a shape-shifting hybrid fused from unlike organic material or species, such as the pairing of the human corpus with foliage, or the satyr figure, which joins a man-animal at the waist. Ornamental hybrids appear in the *Science in Story* illustration, "Our Cousins in the Vegetable World" [Fig 2]. It visually interprets Thomas Scott Lambert's idea that in the early gestation of the human body, the first processes were vegetable.[12] *Science in Story's* narrator maintains Lambert's assertion that "it is not an exaggeration of truth to say that man is a vegetable as well as an animal, and under proper culture, an intellectual, as well as an animal, being" (5:7). Consequently, in his drawing Stephens fashioned hybrid creatures that resembled vegetables with human endowments such as faces, clothing, and accessories.

In literature and popular culture, Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein* (1831) creature was a hybrid assembled from the body parts of various corpses. Illustrators in the United States depicted their own version of the story, including Frank Bellew's racially charged "The Modern Frankenstein" (1852) [Fig 3]. His portrayal of the creature is an amalgamation of stolen African American corpses, brought to life by a white Dr. Frankenstein (the abolitionist Horace Greeley). Dr. Frankenstein's hybrid is a chimera, or "a monster against nature." The creature invokes fears of miscegenation as well as interracial (black-on-white) rape—because of the monster's

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[10] Quoted in Summers 2003, 21.
[11] Summers 2003, 22.
[12] See *Science in Story* 5:7 -5:8.

request to construct a female mate for him.[13] Furthermore, hybrid imagery transcends distinct classifications, sharing traits from more than one body or thing, and is thus neither.[14]

The monstrosities of the hybrid evoke more fears, particularly death and hell. Figures emerged in the medieval period and in sixteenth-century England and Germany depicting death as comical creatures, as evidenced in Hans Holbein's *Dance of Death*. Termed "antickes," from the Italian "antico grottesco," they portray images of chimeras, demons, fools, skeletons, and clowns. In the seventeenth-century, the grotesque expanded to include the meaning of "anticke," signifying the concept of death as ludicrous or mischievous figures delighting in the deception and plaguing of mankind.[15] These anticke grotesques acquired the term "diablerie."

One of the most famous examples of diablerie was Jacques Callot's engraving "Temptations of St. Anthony, 1635," which features the saint emerging from a grotto into a landscape populated with winged monsters and demons [Fig 4]. Their bodies appear tortured, emaciated, and in a perpetual state of decomposition, while at the same time they defy death by performing burlesques. C.R. Milne re-interpreted Callot's engraving with his illustration entitled "A dream caused by the perusal of Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe's popular work of Uncle Tom's Cabin, 1853" [Fig 5]. It mirrors Callot's original composition and associates the demon figures with fear of emancipation. Stowe replaces Callot's St. Anthony emerging from the cave. Milne

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[13] Young 2008, 27.
[14] Cassuto 1997, 6-7. This is Cassuto's central argument in his theory of the "racial grotesque," which explores the objectification of the racialized body and how it fluctuates between "human" and "thing."
[15] Barasch 1971, 41-42.

depicts blacks dressed as civilized men, but at the same time, they are on the devil's team of monstrosities. The print warns that enslaved or free blacks would engender an apocalypse of violence and chaos. Even Stowe, who championed their liberation, would become their victim.[16] In both pictures, diablerie exists at the orifice of the grotto—the grotto being a dark passageway or tunnel which links the fear and chaos of the underworld to the world outside.

Sponsie the Monkey was the incarnation of diablerie in *Science in Story* [Fig 6].[17] A writhing, mischievous, and often sickly animal, the monkey from the Cape Verde Islands was a gift to Sammy Tubbs during the boy's early employment at Dr. Hubbs office. Through a comical sequence of events, Sammy obtains another monkey, also named Sponsie, and together both Sponsies heighten the chaos in the doctor's office. Sammy is their "master," insinuating that they are embodiments of slaves. Though their s-shaped tails mimic that of devils', the Sponsies are also tortured creatures. Emaciated, alcoholic, suicidal, corporeally injured, dismembered, and even *undead*, the monkeys at the same time maintain the vitality reminiscent of diablerie. The narrator explains, "This monkey is like a great many people in the world who are always supposed to be near their graves, as year after year rolls on, and they bury one by one, all their fat friends and relatives to the forty-ninth cousin" (3:192). Corporeally mortal yet evading death, Sponsie retains his vim (even post-mortem) while serving as a reminder of human mortality.

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[16] Wood 2000, 205.

[17] In addition to the diablerie, Stephens' illustration of the two Sponsies also reflects the decorative tradition of *singerie*—which translates to "monkey trick," and depicts monkeys in playful activity. For meaning of *singerie* see Tarver 1879, 736, and for uses in art see Chilvers 2004, 653.

Closely associated with diablerie is the carnivalesque, the most dominant form of grotesque in *Science in Story*. An art historical example that best demonstrates the carnivalesque is Pieter the Elder Bruegel's *The Battle between Lent and Carnival* (1559) [Fig 7]. The left half of the painting appears to be in Carnival, while the right half depicts Lent.[18] It depicts a pre-Lenten festival of peasants gorging themselves on food and drink and engaging in other excesses. The peasants' exaggerated anatomies demonstrate their appetites; they have swelling bellies and open mouths as well as lean bodies with missing limbs. In addition they dress as noblemen, suggesting role reversal. Thus, the painting shows a world turned upside-down. The landscape is in a state of transition and confusion with tensions between carnal passion and the impending restriction of appetite. These performances of excess ridiculed moral and social codes of behavior, determining that the carnivalesque was, in Connelly's words, "the voice of the people and a vehicle of self-expression for the suppressed."[19]

In her terminology, Connelly likens the bodily appetites of the carnivalesque to Mikhail Bakhtin's analysis of Rabelais' grotesque. Bakhtin postulated that the grotesque body is "in the act of becoming" and remains in an unfinished state of *degeneration* and *regeneration*.[20] In other words, it is renewable material offering a "pregnant death" that continues to live on after a presumed demise.[21] This critical concept of the carnivalesque derives from the workings of the lower body, which eliminates waste and gives birth to new life. Consequently, the carnivalesque

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[18] Cockrell 1997, 34.
[19] Connelly 2003, 8.
[20] Bakhtin 1984, 317.
[21] Bakhtin 1984, 25.

exaggerates the genitals and the buttocks as well as other orifices of the body, such as the nose and mouth, and their affiliated fluids and fecal matter. Unlike fantastical hybrids or diablerie, the carnivalesque is the grotesque of human flesh and blood.

The carnivalesque relates to caricature through its exaggeration of body parts. In the nineteenth-century Saartjie Baartman, a South African woman depicted with overdeveloped reproductive and eliminative organs, became a socially constructed spectacle and living caricature, "The Hottentot Venus," in sideshow attractions across Europe. After her death, scientists dissected her body and made several plaster moulds including replicas of her skeleton and brain, a wax mold of her genitalia, and a full-bodied reproduction displaying her nakedness.[22] In addition to her physical remains, she "lived on" in cartoons, diagrams for world's fairs, and became a subject compared with simians and uncivilized races [Fig 8]. The grotesque in this example was not just an abnormal body in its natural environment, but rather the objectified *spectacle* made of it in scientific journals, the comics, and on the stage. More than a century later, the life and "after-life" of the Hottentot Venus served, as Craig and Scully explain, as "a reminder of the injustices black South Africans have endured over the past three and a half centuries."[23] Depending on *who* saw her body and *how* it was perceived, it transcended ridicule to become a symbol of power for oppressed people and "lived on" in the minds of the public.

Bakhtin maintains, "The body that figures in all the expressions of the unofficial speech of the people is the body that fecundates and is fecundated, that

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[22] Prestney 2000, 90.
[23] Crais and Scully 2008, 3-4.

gives birth and is born, devours and is devoured, drinks, defecates, is sick and dying."[24] In Bakhtin, the carnivalesque is subversive because it represents the suppressed voices of people. In *Science in Story*, the best illustration of the carnivalesque's "topsy-turvy" temperament was the picture of Sponsie the Monkey as a puppeteer, pulling the strings of marionettes which resembled Dr. Hubbs, Sponsie's "master" Sammy Tubbs, and the other characters in the Doctor's household [Fig 9]. Signifying the ultimate role-reversal, the oppressed "slave" dominates the socially constructed hierarchy. The transposition of the oppressed and the oppressor is a reflection of how the grotesque responds to and destabilizes cultural boundaries.

John Ruskin coined the concept of "grotesque idealism" in *Modern Painters* (1843). He asserted that grotesques communicated "a strange connection between the reinless play of the imagination, and a sense of the presence of evil."[25] Ruskin identified grotesque idealism as "the element through which the most appalling and eventful truth has been wisely conveyed... No element of imagination has a wider range, a more magnificent use, or so colossal a grasp of sacred truth."[26] Ruskin's definition alludes to imaginative symbols that represent socially inconvenient truths. It will become clear that Foote uses this concept in his construction of grotesques.

Ruskin recognized the aesthetic desire for "realistic completeness" within the canons of art history; however, he also stressed that there was a growing interest in "incompleteness," which the grotesque expressed. Unless made by the great masters, the grotesque ideal was best when rendered "merely in line, or light and shade, or

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[24] Bakhtin 1984, 319.
[25] Ruskin 1843, 3:90.
[26] Ruskin 1843, 3:115.

mere abstract color, so as to mark it for a thought rather than a substantial fact."[27] Grotesques depicted in quick lines, as if living in momentary thought, conveyed "the act of becoming" that Bakhtin suggested. These lines of the grotesque appeared in lithographs, engravings, and caricatures. *Science in Story's* illustrations were photo-engraved reproductions of pen and ink sketches which visually conveyed the grotesque ideal's incompleteness.

After reviewing the meanings of grotesque in art history, and their manifestations in nineteenth-century visual culture and in *Science in Story*, we can summarize the various components of our definition. Fundamentally, the grotesque evokes the visual regardless of whether it is a descriptive text or actual imagery. It pertains to the body, suggestive of its appetites, breeding, growth and development, internal fluids and organs, as well as its dissection, dismemberment, and recombination. The body is in a perpetual state of growth and change—shifting its shape and appearance, going beyond mortality and rebirth. It crisscrosses boundaries and destabilizes categories, turning the conventional upside-down and inside-out, and presents itself as a threat against established norms. Importantly, it is always a spectacle, performance, or display of the body in these phases, parts, or functions. For example, finding a bloody corpse on the side of the road is not grotesque by our definition. If an artist or photographer visually interprets this corpse or an author describes it in a work of literature, it becomes a grotesque thing. Finally, every detail of the grotesque conveys the downward movement to the underworld or underground, or the realm below the waist.

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[27] Ruskin 1843, 3:118.

Chapter II. Dr. Edward Bliss Foote and His World

"In the present condition of the human race, doctors and medical dispensaries are a necessity, a necessary evil. When the world is wiser we should be abolished!"
–Dr. Samuel Hubbs (5:213).

The "orifice of the grotto" is analogous to the door to the medical office. Inside, doctors penetrate the body, exposing its innards, turning it inside-out. The act of dissecting and dismembering a corpse is degenerative; however in the realm of science, the dead body is regenerative. The corpse "lives on" displayed in formaldehyde, in plaster casts, as skeletons, and in scientific journals.

In 1875, Thomas Eakins' *The Gross Clinic* portrayed the flesh and blood of a living body during an operation [Fig 10]. Eakins depicts Dr. Samuel Gross in a surgical theatre demonstrating the removal of diseased bone from a patient stricken with osteomyelitis. The patient's exposed body receives the gaze of the painted audience, consisting of mostly white men with the exception of a white woman covering up her face. The woman's reaction in the painting reflected the belief that women were too emotionally delicate for the medical room. This also resonated in the criticism of the painting. Four years later, Eakins submitted the painting to the Society of American Artists exhibition in New York City where it became a subject of discussion among art critics. "The painter shows his skill and the spectator's gorge rises at it—that is all," wrote a critic from the *New York Tribune* who questioned the taste of a society that allowed this painting to be seen where "ladies, young and old, young girls and boys and little children" would view it.[28]

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[28] Cited in Burns 2004, 190.

The criticism of the "Gross Clinic" characterized revulsion and construed the painting as an obscenity that women and children should not see. Viewing a white body surgically operated on, dissected, or dismembered was socially inappropriate. However as we shall see, the black body's representation in similar gruesome scenarios was not only acceptable, it became part of children's education. This was the public's mindset in New York City when Dr. Edward Bliss Foote wrote his children's story full of dissections, skeletons, and a black child who mastered the mysteries of the body.

This chapter explores the world that surrounds the creation of *Science in Story*, and its author Dr. Edward Bliss Foote (1829-1906). It introduces Free-Thought liberalism and its positions during the obscenity regulations. How is the grotesque similar to or different from the idea of "obscenity"? How do they influence each other? Coinciding with the obscenity regulations in the 1870s was a resurgence of racist children's literature. Although there are elements of the minstrel show in *Science in Story*, I believe that the series is best understood as a Barnumesque ethnographic exhibition. This chapter will demonstrate how in a prudish and racially tense climate, *Science in Story* emerged as progressive work.

Foote lived at the same location where Dr. Samuel Hubbs in *Science in Story* established his medical practice—120 Lexington Avenue. In his office, Foote published self-help manuals, hygiene and birth control information, and sold his own patented contraceptives through the mail. His activities were targets of Anthony Comstock's obscenity regulations, which prohibited the sale of contraceptives and the

distribution of lewd material, including information on birth control.[29] In 1874, one year after Comstock initiated the New York Society for the Suppression of Vice, Foote published *Science in Story* with the fifth volume on sexual reproduction appearing in January 1875.

Foote's early life led to an appreciation of self-education, as opposed to learning in a formal school program, and a love of freedom of expression. As a teenager, Foote dropped out of school and was apprenticed to a printer in Cleveland, Ohio. Later, he earned a reputation as a writer for various newspapers in Vermont, New Haven, New Britain, and Brooklyn, New York, and developed an interest in the First Amendment.[30]

While writing in New York, Foote devoted most of his leisure to the study of medicine under the mentorship of a botanical physician.[31] During the 1850s, he wrote *Medical Common Sense* which earned him a reputation as a medical thinker. In 1860, Foote graduated from Penn Medical University specializing in chronic diseases. He preferred the alternatives of eclecticism as opposed to the practices of mainstream physicians, or the "allopaths."[32] Although mainstream medicine generally rejected contraceptives and treated the body with large doses of chemical-based remedies,

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[29] Comstock was an active member of New York'sYoung Men's Christian Association (YMCA) and impressed the organization with his puritan ideals that sought to rid the country of vice. The president of the New York YMCA and his peers formed the NY YMCA Committee for the Suppression of Vice, which paid Comstock a salary to embark on his crusade to eliminate vice and to generate state and federal anti-obscenity legislation. This group became the independent New York Society for the Suppression of Vice with Comstock as its leader (Sears 1977, 69-70).

[30] J. Wood 2008, 36.

[31] Botanical physicians were doctors who used cayenne, lobelia and steam for treatment. They were also known as "vegetable doctors" or "root doctors" (Smith 1837, 121).

[32] Earlier in his career, Foote stated his allegiance to allopathy and the American Medical Association listed him as an allopath. However, Penn Medical University taught eclecticism and later in his life Foote described his medical practice as a combination of traditional and contemporary methods. (J. Wood 34)

eclectic physicians preferred natural medicines and supported contraceptives.[33] Foote considered eclecticism, "as much a protest in the field of medicine as was Luther's Reformation in the domain of religion." [34]

Foote believed in scientific truth-seeking and was a Free-Thinker, a social liberal, concerned with justice and equality. Liberalism, based on the writings of Thomas Jefferson, Thomas Paine, Alexander Hamilton, and James Madison, asserted that political institutions should not intrude on people's self-interests including property, and that the role of government should work to protect those interests.[35] The separation of church and state was an important belief of liberalism.[36] During the Civil War, President Lincoln infused Christian morality with the liberal principle that all people have the right to govern themselves which therefore positioned slavery as against God.[37] After emancipation and Lincoln's assassination, liberalism re-focused on the division of religion and government with a new interest in the scientific natural world:[38]

> In light of the fact, then, that reliance on heaven weakens the people, if it does not entirely incapacitate them, for the practical purposes of life, there is nothing so important as to acquaint them with the reality of things, to direct their attention from the problematical good time to come after they have shuffled off this mortal coil to the perfectibility

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[33] Sears 1977, 186-187.
[34] Quoted in Haller 1994, frontispiece.
[35] Diggins's reference to a "liberal society" and summarizing the two "expressions" of liberalism: individualism and pluralism. Diggins 1984, 4-5.
[36] The principle of the separation of church and state derives from Jefferson's Letter to the Danbury Baptists (January 1, 1802) which can be accessed at: http://www.loc.gov/loc/lcib/9806/danpre.html.
[37] Diggins 1984, 301.
[38] Diggins 1984, 156.

> of the race, and the rein of justice here and now. This, we hold, is the supreme task of Liberalism.[39]

Free-Thought emerged from this liberalism and later, in 1876, allied with the "National Liberal League".[40] Liberal Leaguers used the term "liberal" interchangeably with "Free-Thinker."[41] In the past, most Free-Thinkers were abolitionists who viewed slavery as an injustice to those with darker skin. By the 1870s, they advocated for the causes of race and gender equality, spiritualism, free-love, sex education, and free-speech. Of those efforts, Foote found the latter two most important. Most Free-Thinkers condemned Comstock's efforts to regulate postal mail because it interfered with the overarching liberal principle of self-governing and it infused religious morality into matters of the state.[42] Comstock's supporters identified "liberals" as having "a love for moral dirt." The Free-Thinkers in the Liberal League acknowledged that from the standpoint of orthodox Christianity they themselves were moral "infidels," and outwardly shared the "infidel" association with other scientific and creative thinkers whom they admired.[43]

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[39] "Aims and Methods." (4).
[40] Sears 1977, 36.
[41] Sears 1977, 36.
[42] Not all liberals united around the League or the causes of free-thought. In 1878, the League experienced internal opposition due to disagreements over the constitutionality of the Comstock laws. The majority of liberals condemned the Comstock laws; however, not all believed the laws were unconstitutional. "Aims and Methods" 1884, 4.
[43] "The Comstock Laws" (457) and Palmer, Courtland. "The Comstock Postal-Laws: A Reply" (459). *Scribner's Monthly* 22. 1881. Palmer mentions the "great masters" that liberals learn from including Herbert Spencer, Auguste Comte, Victor Hugo, Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Jefferson, and Goethe. "All true liberals are quite willing to be stigmatized as 'infidels' in such companionship, but in none less noteworthy" (459).

In his office on Lexington Avenue, Foote met with clients, sold products, and provided advice through the mail.[44] He patented inventions which included an eye remedy for near-sightedness, an impregnating syringe, and an anti-masturbation device called the "Timely Warning." He marketed birth control through the mail in the forms of condoms, the "womb veil" (a diaphragm), and an electro-magnetic contraceptive machine.[45] In 1872, he launched his Murray Hill Publishing Company which published over sixty self-help pamphlets on birth control, health care, and social reform.[46]

A controversy over free-speech formed in the same year. Comstock proposed amendments to New York law to prohibit the traffic of obscenity through the United States Postal Service.[47] These regulations aimed to protect children from exposure to nudity and sexual content as he describes in *Traps for the Young*: "It [obscenity] is honeycombing society. Like a frightful monster, it stands peering over the sleeping child, to catch its first thoughts on awakening. This is especially true where the eye of youth has been defiled with the scenes of lasciviousness in the weekly criminal papers, or by their offsprings, obscene books and pictures."[48] The ban made it illegal to sell contraceptives and distribute any "obscene, lewd, or lascivious book, pamphlet, picture, paper, print or other publication of an indecent character,"

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[44] Sappol 2002, 241-242.
[45] Foote's theory of sexual attraction and intercourse was inherently electric and magnetic (Sears 187). He explained that the contraceptive machine excited the womb electrically so that the sperm would not be retained. Details regarding the method of its application to the female body were not explicit. He assured his readers that there were no painful shocks or injurious results through its use (196).
[46] J. Wood 2008, 18 & 34.
[47] Following New York, twenty-four other states enacted similar legislation—all calling the new law the "Comstock Act" (Kevles 2001).
[48] Comstock 1883, 132.

including information on reproductive control.[49] Comstock provided no concrete boundaries for defining obscenity, therefore materials could have been considered obscene unbeknownst to their makers.

According to A. J. Richards, the meaning of obscenity indicated "those areas of bodily function [the excretory and the sexual] in which the culture centrally invests its self-esteem and in which deviance provokes the deepest anxieties."[50] The obscene and the grotesque have some similarities. Both emphasize the lower trunk of the body, its organs and excretions. The grotesque marks the revelation of what is hidden from sight —without censure or high-minded consternation. However the "obscene" was a moral construction in Comstock's use of the term. The obscene was what *should not* be seen. It channeled cultural fears and created anxieties for the purpose of preserving virtue. Therefore, marking an object or behavior "obscene" depended upon whether the object was viewed with moral discrimination. Since "the grotesque" and "the obscene" often point to the sphere of sex and degradation, they are allied. The former defines the uncovering of the unseen whereas the latter indicates scorn for such actions.

Lacking an explicit definition of obscenity, Comstock's vice hunters aimed at moving targets. They arrested Free-Thinkers and spread fear—leading to a number of suicides.[51] The New York Society for the Suppression of Vice confiscated

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[49] Quoted in Richards 1974, 50.
[50] Richards 1974, 52.
[51] "Anthony Comstock and the Death of Ida Craddock." (August 25, 2009). http://www.bbc.co.uk/dna/h2g2/A51607181. Accessed on 7/22/2010.

millions of items deemed inappropriate for the public.[52] In contradiction to his objective to remove all "abominations" from the public's sight, in 1873 Comstock presented the Society's collection of obscene material in Washington, DC in an exhibition he termed "The Chamber of Horrors."[53] Placing "what should not be seen" on display by those who deemed the objects "obscene," suggested that obscenity was not for "the people," rather only for a privileged few.

At the same time Comstock desired to defend the virtue of children, Foote wrote *Science in Story*. Foote expressed his opposition to the obscenity laws with a fictional story that taught children about their bodies and allegorically represented the Free-Thought movement's ideals in terms children could understand. Foote's books were not devoid of life affirming lessons. He criticized not what was immoral, but unnatural, and constructed parables about bodily risks. He designed many of his scenarios around the antics of the Sponsies, whose misbehavior inevitably leads to suffering and gruesome death.

Foote's parables of the Sponsies involved the carnivalesque's tension of the bodily appetites, between degeneration and regeneration. In the parable concerning male self-pleasuring, Foote argues that masturbation drove out the body's "vital substances" in unnatural "excitants" which could result in severe bodily injury or death. While Sammy lectures on the dangers of masturbation in his newly refurbished

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[52] Comstock monitored all the activities of the New York Society for the Suppression of Vice. In *Traps for the Young* (1883), he revealed that in the years since the initiation of the obscenity laws the Society confiscated "1,376,939 circulars, catalogues, songs, and poems" among thousands of other materials including images and books (137).

[53] This exhibition took place in the Office of the Vice President (Schuyler Colfax). According to *Spectral Sexualities*, his collection included "racy playing cards, contraceptive 'rubber goods,' and salacious dime novels." See McGarry (8).

gymnasium and medical center, one of the Sponsies sharpens his "rusty old knife" in the cutlery room. A knife, like a phallus, is an object of penetration—and a rusty knife signified misuse. Sponsie's sharpening of his knife was analogous to Sammy's masturbation lecture, warning that such behavior was self-destructive. Fulfilling the point of the lecture, Sponsie suffers accidental dismemberment and disembowelment by the cutlery machine [Fig 11]. The narrator concludes, "Thus doth this painful emotion, in the language of some writer, 'ever tread on the heel of pleasure!'"(5:191). Although it may have been an accident within the story, it is no accident that Foote wanted to condemn masturbatory acts—not as immoral, but because he believed them to be harmful to the body's regenerative processes.

Science in Story was not the first American publication that provided information on physiology and anatomy to children. The narrator criticizes the predecessors of the genre as "dry reading" and "difficult to comprehend for the juvenile mind." Foote wrote *Science in Story* so that "such information could be ingeniously concealed in an acceptable garb, as the pill-vendors coat their nauseous drugs with an envelope of sugar, [so that] the desired object might be attained" (1:ii). Comprehensively, the series supported education reform in America where "anatomy, physiology, chemistry, and botany" ought to be taught in "common schools" (5:224)—and that acquiring knowledge of the body, Foote believed, would beautify it. To demonstrate this, Foote envisioned a black child as the transformative model.

Science in Story circulated with other educational literature that portrayed black children in degrading roles.[54] Perhaps the most influential and long lasting was a nursery rhyme called *The Ten Little Niggers*—which originated as "The Ten Little Injuns," an American minstrel song of the 1860s [Fig 12]. Early versions of this text took the forms of picture books and sheet music.[55] The verses describe ten black children, each of whom meets an untimely demise: one "chopped himself in halves and then there were Six...A bumble bee stung one and then there were Five..." with the final child standing alone "He went out and hanged himself and then there were None." The pictures in different versions show the children meeting their deaths with smiles on their faces. McLoughlin Brothers (New York) printed an illustrated edition in 1875, which spurred a business of publishing racist didactic material for another century.[56] During *Science in Story*'s twenty-five years of printing, we can assume that many of the children who read Foote's series were also familiar with the rhyme.

Children's educational materials depicted black children as disposable bodies for teaching basic math and rhyme. In children's stories, the violence inflicted on black children reflected the abuse of American slaves by their masters. When attempting to escape, the slaves who failed in their flight often faced elimination "from the [slave] stock through hanging or some other inhuman form of murder."[57]

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[54] Sappol discovered several racist educational items designed for children from the mid-1870s (372): *Simple Addition by a Little Nigger* (New York, ca. 1874-75); *Nine Niggers More* (New York: ca. 1874); *Simple Addition and Nursery Jingles* (New York, ca. 1875), and *The Funny Little Darkies* (New York, ca. 1875).
[55] Martin 2004, 199.
[56] Michelle Martin studied a long history of variations of the *Ten Little Niggers*, with the last cited variation being *The Afro-Bets* published in 2002 (Martin 2004, 19-71).
[57] Martin 2004, 38.

After the Civil War, black children in stories remained expendable and abused for the education and pleasure of white children.

Science in Story continued this literary treatment in the violence towards the Sponsies, and at the same time, countered it through the character of Sammy. While neither Dr. Hubbs nor Sammy abused the Sponsies who repeatedly attempted escape, Foote made sure that their accidental deaths served an educational and regenerative purpose. A bullet that tore through the monkey's rectum became a lesson on the digestive system; a monkey's corpse became a cadaver for a brain dissection by Sammy.[58] At their core, the Sponsies were "grotesque imitators of humanity lower down in the scale of creation" (2:179). One monkey impersonated the myth of Jim Crow, and the other, in a Barnumesque allusion, seized a wagon full of animals and drove it through Central Park. In these ways, the monkeys mimicked black performance traditions and reinforced their association with the minstrel show.

In the beginning, *Science in Story* presented its primary black character, Sammy, in a derogatory manner, serving as a motivation for white children to pay attention to their anatomy lessons and cautioning "do not let a little black boy do better than you" (2:15). Casting Sammy's early character in the Sambo stereotype, Foote hoped that the image of a good-natured servant boy would entice his white readership to buy the series. Marketing described the series as a minstrel show-like entertainment with educational benefits, as depicted in Stephens' illustration of

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[58] Sammy explains, "If Professor Powell could will his head to a medical friend in the cause of science, and Professor Agassiz could on his deathbed request his friends to cut open his body to ascertain the cause of his last sickness, I can certainly command the nerve to lay open the skull of Sponsie... for the purpose of making my lecture plain to my hearers." (4:222)

Sammy and Sponsie bowing in front of a curtain [Fig 13]. As Sappol argued, "The implausibility of the black boy as anatomist is the comic effect that draws a mass (white) readership."[59] Nineteenth-century ephemera, such as the broadside "A Black Lecture on Phrenology" [Fig 14] and the other racist children's stories, made difficult content, such as anatomy, enjoyable if presented by a black child: [60]

> With all his attachment for the mischievous monkey he [Sammy] one moment felt that he could see him [Sponsie] cut up, or dissected, as the doctors say, in order that he might know better how the machine, as he called it, or the animal organism, as it is properly termed, was constructed. But quickly taking back his cruel thought... he mentally begged Sponsie's pardon for even thinking of making a subject of him (1:36-37).

Later in the series, the narrator described Sammy as the role model, "It is my wish that you should imitate the patient industry of the boy, not the ape roguishness of the monkey" (3:13). Foote applied qualities to Sammy that subtly humanized him and developed him into a prodigy of anatomy—with the radical implication that a black child could have mastery over the human body. This achievement paired Sammy as equal or superior to whites. Consequently, the destabilization of the racial

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[59] Sappol 2002, 253.

[60] Blacks educated in anatomy were uncommon but were not entirely far-fetched. Racial prejudice limited the opportunities for African Americans who wished to join the field; however by 1860, at least nine medical schools admitted one or several men of color. The schools were Bowdoin, the Medical School of the University of New York, the Caselton Medical School in Vermont, the Berkshire Medical School in Massachusetts, the Rush Medical School in Chicago, the Eclectic Medical School in Philadelphia, the Homeopathic College of Cleveland, the American Medical College, and the Medical School of Harvard University (Curtis 1971, 10). Despite these few advancements in black education, conventional thought upheld the stereotype that blacks were uneducated buffoons.

hierarchy undermined the minstrel show's logic of keeping blacks in their place. Moreover, Foote's portrayal of Sammy's maturation contradicted racist evolutionary discourses in the late nineteenth century that argued blacks were in a fixed state of development. Adult blacks were comparable to children and remained a race of youth. Given that Sammy became a young man at the end of the series, yet still retained his "otherness" as a racial spectacle, Sappol contends that *Science in Story* was "both minstrel show and anti-minstrel show."[61]

Although the perpetually changing body contradicted the norms of minstrelsy, it corresponded to a Barnumesque rhetoric of an ethnographic exhibition. "I shall show you," declared the narrator, "that a boy, whether enveloped in white or black skin has within him the material which, if rightly used, will enable him to progress in goodness and intelligence, and, as a usual result, in success from the cradle of earth to a seat in heaven" (2:13-14). These words mimicked those of a showman staging a creature for spectatorship. The various forms of grotesquerie presented in *Science in Story* included and ventured beyond minstrelsy. A black boy's transformative body within a hierarchical relationship comprising also a monkey and a white male doctor was analogous to an evolutionary chain and P.T. Barnum's popular "missing link" exhibition.

Barnum's ethnographic shows' popularity rose in response to post-Civil War racial anxieties.[62] Only one year before the publication of *Science in Story*, Barnum's

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[61] Sappol 2002, 253.
[62] Cassuto 1997, 194.

American Museum and Menagerie burned down on Fourteenth Street.[63] In his exhibitions he had displayed animals, hybrid creatures like the Feejee mermaid, ethnic "savages," and Americans with disabilities. The display of bodies in the shows offset the moral values dictated by Comstock. While Comstock did not explicitly condemn such exhibitions, he would have classified them among the "death traps" that snared children's "lively imaginations," "dazzled" them, and turned them toward a life of immorality.[64]

Among those was an exhibit called "What Is It?" The 1860 exhibition featured bodies plagued with vitiligo, albinism, and microcephaly presented as "missing links" in an evolutionary chain extending upward from monkey to black man to white man. Other exhibitions incorporated the same theme [Fig 15A and 15B]. Popularized as evidence of the evolving racial sciences in America, "What Is It?" exhibitions reinforced the hierarchy of the races.[65] They also expressed ambiguity in which the spectators needed to resolve the gap between the body on display and their own. An advertisement for the exhibition challenged spectators to ask: "Is it a lower order of MAN? Or is it a higher order of MONKEY? None can tell! Perhaps it is a combination of both."[66]

Although minstrelsy allowed viewers to differentiate themselves from the caricatured performances, the Barnumesque show demonstrated a tension between identification and discrimination. The shifting recognition between the spectator and

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[63] The previous location was at the intersection of Broadway and Ann Street, also destroyed by fire.
[64] Comstock 1883, 8.
[65] Reiss 2001, 42.
[66] Cited in Thomson 1997, 69.

the "missing link" was analogous to the white readers and Sammy in *Science in Story*. While the readers may have gazed upon the illustrations of Sammy with detachment because of his blackness, they related to his age and the growing interest in anatomical knowledge in post-bellum America. They followed Sammy's development from a caricature that played with monkeys, to a medical practitioner on a par with white doctors. In Foote's narrative, Sammy stood at the threshold *and* he crossed it. Comprehensively the figures of Sponsie, Sammy, and Dr. Hubbs were an allusion to the "missing link exhibition" as part of the series' grotesquerie [Fig 16].

Moreover, Foote created Sammy not only as "a missing link" but also a prodigy. He was an unusually intelligent boy endowed with an extraordinary talent for anatomy and his black skin enhanced his role as a prodigy. In antiquity, a "prodigy" was a variation on the meaning of "monster." In the Middle Ages, monster and prodigy were synonymous with "the showing forth of divine will." Perceived as symbolic disruptions of the natural order, they demonstrated God's power over nature for didactic ends.[67] By the thirteenth century, the idea of "monstra" transferred its meaning from ominous, to the wonders of science and entertainment. As a self-taught (non-academically trained) prodigy of anatomy, Sammy undermined mainstream medicine which upheld academic training as a pre-requisite for a field mostly made up of white men.[68] He was an entertainment spectacle, derivative of the grotesque's monster, as well as an educational tool for children. As a "black prodigy," Sammy

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[67] Friedman 1981, 109.
[68] See *Science in Story* 5:221-223.

was a transformative racial figure, both marvel and monster within a Barnumesque framework.

How did *Science in Story* fit within Foote's world? It coincided with America's growing fascination with and revulsion from the study of anatomy. *Science in Story's* grotesques of degeneration and regeneration were "obscene" by Comstock's moral standards, but to those in the Free-Thought movement they represented the voices of social liberals who had been silenced by Comstock's vice-hunters. The white body's exposed flesh in *The Gross Clinic* was "obscene" for women and children's viewing, whereas the physical violence inflicted against the black child's body in *Ten Little Niggers* was not only appropriate, it became a teaching tool for white children. This demonstrates how Foote's Sammy Tubbs destabilized the racial stereotypes of Foote's world. He was not gruesomely "cut-up" like a black Sambo in a nursery rhyme, but rather he became a master of the human body and taught children anatomy.

Foote situated his primary characters within an ethnographic hierarchy, emphasizing the public's interest in racial and evolutionary hierarchies. The "missing link" between the simian and the white man requires further probing in aesthetic terms. What were the aesthetics of evolution and how did they relate to the grotesque? How did Foote humanize the black body and make it beautiful? How did Henry L. Stephens interpret the black body in *Science In Story*? These are questions that will be answered in the next chapter.

Chapter III. The Aesthetics of Evolution, Race, and the Perfectible Body

In every respect, excepting color of skin, which came from the palette of the Great Artist, instead of the stain of crime, Sammy was all that her imagination had pictured him when his face was hidden by the mask. His features were intelligent and attractive, and his conversation instructive and captivating. (Foote 4:183)

After the Civil War there was a resurgence of interest in designating boundaries between ethnicities and preserving racial inequality. Categorization became a way to define what it meant to be human as well as to distinguish social order—constructed primarily on the merits of visual beauty. The grotesque crisscrossed, blurred and ruptured the categorical boundaries of the beautiful established by scientists and artists. A threat to the established aesthetic categories would be an amalgamation of the grotesque and the sublime, characterized in *Science in Story* by Sammy Tubbs. As one of the three main players, along with a monkey and a white doctor, Sammy was "a missing link" and the key to understanding Foote's aesthetics of race, evolution, and the perfectible body.

This chapter explores how Foote used the grotesque as it transgressed the categories defining race and beauty, by showing the spectacle of the black body transforming into an ideal. In the nineteenth-century, diverse modes of "typing bodies" centered on character reading, theories of facial angles, and measuring skull proportions. They presented the ancient Greek sculpture as perfection with various ethnicities falling away from the ideal. The ideal was devoid of animal characteristics whereas the black body remained identified with the simian. Foote combined evolutionary theory with self-improvement to destabilize the pre-existing notions of the black body. He humanized Sammy Tubbs for his readers with traits usually

associated with the white body. As his illustrator, Henry L. Stephens depicted Foote's aesthetics of race as well as Sammy's development from the perspective of white paternalism.

Racial classification began as aesthetic criteria to mark the location of humanity's origin. In 1795, J.F. Blumenbach (1752-1840) introduced the term "Caucasian" to mark the "autochthones" (original varieties) of mankind coming from the Caucasus Mountains, as they produced the "most beautiful race of men."[69] He divided humans into five groups with Caucasians positioned as the ideal, and characterized the other types more or less as distant from the archetypal standard of beauty. Blumenbach fixed the Oriental and the African as the furthest from the ideal. Although his scheme was intended to rank human *beauty* by type, scientists and sociologists misconstrued it as an evidence of *racial inferiority* in both social status as well as intelligence.

Similarly, Pëtrus Camper's (1722-1789) study of skulls intended to improve upon the diagrams of the human head for painting and sculpture, but instead became a visual paradigm for scientific racism. He devised a schematic diagram to render Africans by observing nature, rather than simply visualizing Europeans with black skin. Thus, Camper measured facial angles of different ethnic human heads and animal heads that aligned the forehead, nose, and lips as a method for drawing faces. In diagrams, he placed the African closest to the ape because of their skulls' respective facial angles (70° and 58°); Camper located the European's angles closest

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[69] Quoted in Gould 1981, 401. From J.F. Blumenbach's *On the Natural Variety of Mankind,* 3rd ed. (1795).

to that of the Pythian Apollo (80° and 85-90°) [Fig 17A & B].[70] Later scientists and caricaturists, including Stephens, used Camper's angles to visually discriminate intelligence and character between blacks and whites—comparing the intellect of the black man with that of the ape.

The fear of racial integration and equality in the United States spurred a movement to divide ethnicities into similar groupings. In 1854, J.C. Nott and Geo. Gliddon wrote one of the most influential treatises on racial typing: *Types of Mankind* (Philadelphia, PA). Nott and Gliddon divided humanity into the following types: Caucasian, Jew, African, Egyptian, Negro, and American (Indian); recognizing "no substantial difference between the terms types and species—permanence of characteristics belonging equally to both [terms]."[71] The concept of "type" alluded to "a distinct physical and moral identity." The term was transposable with races and species, supporting the rhetoric of physiognomy.[72]

Physiognomy, the method of discovering the temperament of the mind from the features of the face, was an ancient method of reading character that experienced a revival in the nineteenth-century. Camper postulated that the ancients used physiognomy as a mode to assess their slaves' loyalty.[73] As a method, artists adapted physiognomy as a study of the human passions. Its fundamental contribution to culture, however, was as a method for constructing stereotypes.

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[70] Meijer 1999, 88 & 107.
[71] Nott and Gliddon 1854, 80-81.
[72] Cowling 1989, 184.
[73] Meijer 1999, 117.

Foote adopted physiognomy into his narrative, as well as phrenology (the analysis of character by measuring the shape of the skull as it relates to the brain) and sarcognomy (the application of physiognomy to the full body) in *Science in Story*.[74] He encouraged these theories with the principle that the body exhibited a downward movement from the mind to the organs and limbs. A healthy active mind would inevitably show in the appearance of the body. Those who failed to educate themselves would "grow up with crockery and putty faces...It is very much after this manner that every individual bent upon self-improvement softens, beautifies and gives intelligent expression to the lines of his own face," explains the narrator (2:7-10, 13). Deficiencies of the mind caused abnormalities in bodily structure, resulting in "caricatures and burlesques" (2:12). A mind without anatomical self-knowledge developed a "badly-organized body," which resulted in the "monstrosities of the showman" (4:219 and 5:113) [Fig 18].

Foote's theory of self-improvement corresponded with evolutionary aesthetics of the time—both suggested the idea of a continuously changing body. Moreover, Foote embraced the argument that humans descended from apes. *Science in Story* compares babies (black and white) to animals gifted with human potentiality. With intellectual health, the growing body gradually loses its animal qualities growing closer to that of the Greek ideal.

In Foote's story, the "missing link" between man and ape was a good education in anatomy. In a critical scene demonstrating Foote's evolutionary theory,

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[74] Foote created an elaborate sequence at a masked ball in which Sammy uses the theories of phrenology, physiognomy, and sarcognomy to find the best female companion (4:154-158).

Dr. Hubbs surprises Sammy with the display of two skeletons with their skulls removed: one was a chimpanzee, and the other a man [Fig 19]. Sammy correctly distinguishes the chimp from the human skeleton. Then, Dr. Hubbs shows Sammy their skulls and explains:

> There is no comparison between the foreheads of the two. The man's is broad and high, showing great power for thinking, while the ape's is low and narrow, having only room for [a] brain which exhibits instinct rather than reason. But without looking at the heads of the skeletons you may see this fact illustrated by taking Sponsie on your arm and going to the mirror. Look at your head and then at his... If you and Sponsie should live many years, you will see that you will continually grow more and more apart in intelligence. (1:68-69)

Foote's conception of the ideal body was not a fixed or perfected form, but rather it exhibited an evolutionary beauty. Charles Darwin embraced this aesthetic in *The Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals* (1872). Contrary to earlier studies of physiognomy that separated white human expressions from that of animals, Darwin's study aimed to break down the distinctions between the two groups. To do this he illustrated the muscular contractions that accompanied emotions similarly in both humans and animals. Darwin's aesthetics of evolution were not on a par with Foote's, since Foote demonstrated how Sammy lost his animal traits through education.

To visually interpret the evolutionary and self-improving body, Foote hired Henry L. Stephens (1824-1882) to illustrate his series. One of Stephens's most popular works was "The Comic Natural History of the Human Race" (Philadelphia, 1851) in which he caricatured famous personages as hybrids with animal bodies. Employed first by Frank Leslie and then Harper Brothers, Stephens and his brothers eventually established the American comic journal *Vanity Fair* (1859-1863) for which he provided illustrations.

In 1902, *The New York Times* affirmed that Stephens had been one of the first of America's "popular humorous artists."[75]

Foote selected Stephens for his versatility in depicting the black body. In 1860, Stephens sketched "Substance and Shadow" for *Vanity Fair*, which portrays a black man as grossly disproportionate, in minstrel clothing, and in the motions of "playing the bones" [Fig 20].[76] He dances with a bright lantern casting a distorted shadow of his body onto an enormous globe. The silhouette is more monstrous than his physical figure—with arms outstretched like a bogeyman, pointed horns upon his head, a blank eye-socket, protruding tongue, and in profile to accentuate Camper's facial angle.[77] In this illustration, Stephens shows his talent in the diablerie-style rendering of the black body—reinforcing the stereotypes as well as the fears of black equality.

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[75] Vance 1902, BR10.

[76] Minstrel show castanets (Burns 2004, 142).

[77] According to Sarah Burns, the cartoon represents the Democratic politician and abolitionist reformer, Stephen A. Douglas in blackface casting a demonic shadow of black revolt over the world. Many cartoons of the time depicted fears of slave rebellion with the abolitionist advocates as the target of ridicule (142-144).

In 1863, Stephens produced two other important works depicting race. The first was a watercolor "Black man reading newspaper by candlelight" with the printed headline "Presidential Proclamation, Slavery," referring to the January 1863 Emancipation Proclamation [Fig 21].[78] The man is elderly, dressed in a blue vest, and wears silver spectacles. He appears to grin at the headline, reflecting his comprehension of the article and marking him as an educated black man. Around the same time, Stephens illustrated a series of cards "Journey of a slave from the plantation to the battlefield" which depicted the slave in various stages of captivity, freedom, war, and revolt [Fig 22]. Stephens' subject has an athletic body, devoid of gross exaggerations. Both art works prefigured Sammy Tubbs—the former conveying the education of a black man and the latter showing an athletic black body. *Science in Story*'s other black characters, however, conformed to the racial stereotypes exhibited in Stephens' other cartoons.

Both the text and illustrations singled-out Sammy as a product of white paternalism. Under the tutelage of Dr. Hubbs, an extension of Foote himself, Sammy's countenance grew farther away from the Sambo's clownish appearance, crooked posture, and vernacular dialect—all of which were characteristic of his stereotypical black neighborhood and family. Foote was a "softliner"—a person who believed that black inferiority was a cultural perception which could be eradicated with education and the Caucasian standard of life, and this would elevate blacks to "a

[78] The Library of Congress provides this information in their Prints and Photographs collection.

white level."[79] Therefore, *Science in Story* offers a paternalistic white view of the black body's aesthetic transformation.

Plato believed that the head was the location for the soul and thus should be pointed toward the heavens—keeping the body erect and upright.[80] Yet artists drew the black man's head lowered, almost at the level with his neck. His body's arc appeared bent as if the earth's gravity wanted to pull him into its depths. As a symbol, the black body lingered at the edge of death and signaled a relationship to the underground.

Science in Story incorporates these morbid tropes of blackness. Body-snatchings from slave or lower-class burial grounds were widespread in the nineteenth-century. Many of the bodies dissected for medical research, especially in the south, were those of dead slaves.[81] During the Civil War, illustrators designated slaves as iconic gravediggers who loyally buried their dead Confederate masters—or rather dug a grave for themselves.[82] In *Science in Story*, Stephens illustrates these stereotypical black gravediggers in frumpish clothing with crooked postures and unkempt hair for the burial of the two Sponsies [Fig 23]. As if posing for a photograph, they stand holding their shovels gleefully awaiting the next corpse.

The association between death and the black body also reflected the coloring of corpses. The Civil War's body-count grew astronomical and more bodies lay unburied on the battlefield. Veterans described corpses turning black as they

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[79] Gould 1981, 63-64. Stephen Jay Gould devised the term "softliner."
[80] Meijer 1999, 134.
[81] Sappol 2002, 83.
[82] Sarah Burns presents an example of the stereotypical gravedigger (117).

decomposed: "The faces of the dead as a general rule, had turned black—not a purplish discoloration, such as I had imagined in reading of the 'blackened corpses' so often mentioned in descriptions of battlegrounds, but a deep bluish black, giving to a corpse with black hair the appearance of a negro."[83] In *Science in Story*, Dr. Hubbs explains to Sammy the process of asphyxia which discolors the white body to black as it decays. "'Turned black?' inquired Sammy, who thought it would be difficult for a white skin to turn black as for his own to turn white" (2:72-73). Blackness marks the identity of the dead body and is therefore a constant reminder of death. In this regard, *Science in Story* demonstrates the link between blackness and the underground, indicating Sammy's affiliation to these traits due to the color of his skin.

Moreover, Foote presents Sammy as a figure in the grotesque's process of degeneration and regeneration. Dr. Hubbs in *Science in Story* explains, "Some physiologists say that we change our bodies completely as often as once in seven years." "Then," said Sammy, "the body I was born with has been buried, and in smaller pieces and more places than if it had been cut up by the physicians!" (2:26). This theory—in which the particles that comprise the body die daily and fresh ones take their places—enables Sammy to be a character in the process of bodily formation. As an enterprising and "anatomically educated" youth he could remake himself in his entirety "by adherence to the physiological laws of improvement."[84]

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[83] Quoted in Faust 2008, 57.
[84] Sappol 2002, 261.

Contrary to the black gravediggers who represented death, Foote envisions Sammy as renewable material with the capacity to improve with Dr. Hubbs' guidance.

Many theorists also considered the black body a hybrid. There was a longstanding myth that blacks resulted from the union of white women with orangutans, as insinuated in Camper's writings: "There are Philosophers to be found who want to show with some rhetorical flourish that Negroes and Blacks descended from the mingling in olden times of white people with great Apes or Orang-Outangs, which were called Satyrs by the Ancients."[85] The myth of the black man as a hybrid promulgated the stereotype that blacks frequently copulated with animal lasciviousness, lacking moral sensibility and intelligence. In the nineteenth-century, when people scrutinized the relationship between black men and apes, we can assume that this ancient myth was one of the sources for racist caricatures and scientific racism.

Black skin signified the grotesque; however, more threatening to aesthetic systems was the merging of the grotesque and the sublime. When the grotesque amalgamated with the sublime, it accumulated beautiful traits and re-constructed itself, while still conveying its markings of the hybrid and the underground. As Foote's black ideal, Sammy embodied this combination as a meta-grotesque figure.

Stephens' black and white pen and ink sketches captured the unfinished quality of Ruskin's "grotesque ideal," however they failed to record all the visual changes which happened to Sammy—including aspects of his beautification.

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[85] Quoted in Meijer 1999, 125. Camper contested the theory that the black man was a hybrid as early as 1764.

Monochromatic renderings of black skin were standard in visual culture, in part because of the speculation that blacks received their coloration from the fall of Phaeton. Foote, however, bequeathed Sammy with the sanguineous temperament[86]: "His dark skin perceptibly reddened..." (3:12). The physiognomy of blushing reflected the inward feelings of the mind and modesty. Having this quality was significant for Sammy since blushing was characteristic of pale or transparent skin and believed to be a defining mark of beauty. Sir Uvedale Price insisted, "Variety, gradation, and combination of tints, are among the highest pleasures of vision: black is absolute monotony."[87] The sanguineous temperament beautified and humanized the body, reflecting its flesh and blood. It also indicated a healthy physique: "A person in a high state of health, has a florid color."[88]

Representations of a healthy, educated, and athletic black man were rare because such imagery conveyed black mastery over the body, demonstrating masculinity, sexual attractiveness, and prospective equality in the social hierarchy. Greek revival sculpture and painting designated the white body as capable of perfection but denied the dark-skinned body that capacity. While gymnasiums sprang up in urban areas, primarily for white people, Sammy became a champion for black health and beauty, founding a gym for New York's black community.

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[86] "In the sanguineous temperament, there is generally a great quantity of blood;--at any rate, there is a large quantity in the minute vessels; so that the blood—the pure blood itself—circulates to a great extent throughout" (John Elliotson, Nathaniel Rogers, Alexander Cooper Lee, Thomas Stewardson 1844, 112).

[87] Quoted in Dabydeen 1987, 44.

[88] Elliotson, Stewardson, Rogers, Cooper Lee 1844, 112.

Enthusiasm for physical perfection increased in the post-bellum era. Dudley A. Sargent, a scientist and one-time circus acrobat, campaigned for American fitness in the 1870s, and in 1879 was director of Harvard's Hemenway Gymnasium. He designated the classical "statues of the Gladiator, the Athlete, Hercules, Apollo, and Mercury" as the ideals in his compilation of anthropometric charts to distinguish the perfect type of man.[89] When Sammy is a teenager and well-educated in anatomy, Foote associates Sammy's strength and countenance with the Apollo (5:51) [Fig 24]. On opposite pages, Stephens presents the "Gymnast Tubbs" showing off his svelte features, and alternately his family playing in the gymnasium like monkeys, to demonstrate their divergent paths in anatomical intelligence [Fig 25].

Science in Story's volume five narrates the history of gymnasiums, discussing its origins from the Greek word "gymnos" meaning "naked." "Among the ancient Greeks the youth were encouraged to throw off all clothing, so as to give the muscles unfettered action, and contend for prizes in boxing, wrestling, quoit-throwing, and chariot-racing" (5:9). This ideology embraced the Greek ideal's "pride of physical formation" rather than the Victorian emphasis on the "cut and quality of garments" (5:10). Describing the liberation of the naked body, Foote mocks the obscenity laws without directly addressing them. His concept of the gymnasium was a space where the body thrived without inhibitions.

While the sublime was a perfected and finished specimen, the grotesque body was never complete. It continued to form and reform through its processes of

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[89] Kasson 2001, 42.

degeneration and regeneration. Likewise, *Science in Story* acknowledged that the process of self-making was never-ending:

> If the young man is resolved on self-improvement, still further will this picture of the 'human face divine' take on new lines of intellectual growth, nor will he have put on all the finishing touches, which would otherwise be possible before the hand of Death overturns the easel, and leaves the brushes of science, art, and religion in the places where they had dropped beside him (2:8-9).

The series concludes with Sammy leaving for medical school, demonstrating that his anatomical education would continue to improve his mind and body.

By destabilizing the boundaries that distinguish racial inequality, *Science in Story* asserts Free-Thought idealism. Despite existing prejudices in the 1870s, in Foote's utopian New York, white authority regarded a black self-taught anatomist as a respected prodigy: "Resolved, that we recognize him [Sammy] as a man and as a brother, not withstanding the fact that his generous heart and gifted brain are enveloped in a colored cuticle; furthermore, we welcome him at this festival board as one worthy of our recognition, regard, and encouragement" (4:181).[90] Resonating with the carnivalesque's topsy-turvy play on hierarchy, *Science in Story* subverted the categories that defined social order, the black body, and the beautiful.

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[90] Since the Free-Thought movement grew out of abolitionism, it is plausible that Foote references here the eighteenth-century abolitionist motto: "Am I Not a Man and a Brother?" The text famously wraps around a kneeling African man in chains, as depicted on cameos and other emblems that represented the anti-slavery movement.

Chapter IV. The Good Night Kiss: Miscegenation

"Last night, you were kissing her on my steps after an acquaintance of less than four months!" exclaimed Mr. Barkenstir. Sammy replied, "I did and I'll do it again if she will permit me!"(Foote 5:51)

Destabilizing the hierarchical norms of race and beauty went beyond the character of Sammy Tubbs. There was no greater threat to established categories in the nineteenth-century than miscegenation. A child produced from the mixing of races (or species), was a grotesque monstrosity. The long-standing myth that black men had been spawned from interspecies rape between apes and white women positioned the mulatto as twice the hybrid and a greater abomination of nature. Therefore miscegenation was a phenomenon of grave cultural consequence.

Applying the aesthetics and contextual analyses from the previous chapters, the following two chapters explore case studies from *Science in Story* which further demonstrate Free-Thought idealism. This section centers on Foote's support of and sympathy for racial mixing.

In *Science in Story*, Sammy begins an interracial relationship with Julia Barkenstir, the white daughter of a wealthy cotton broker. No longer an emasculated Sambo but an anatomically educated gymnast, Sammy is a social and sexual threat to the virtue of white women. Through Sammy and Julia's doomed romance, Foote voices his advocacy for free-love and racial equality—epitomized in Stephens' image of the interracial goodnight kiss. Contrary to the racist miscegenation pamphlets and cartoons produced at the time, Sammy's kiss conveys a positive image of interracial

love. Thus, the illustration of the kiss is a grotesque picture of Free-Thought idealism.

The relationship begins at a lavish masked ball at which Sammy removes his white mask revealing his black skin. The white women recoil, except for Julia, who is dressed as a peasant girl. After the ball, she attends all of Sammy's lectures on anatomy and boldly joins him with the Tubbs family for an ice cream social. Foote sarcastically notes Julia's socially inappropriate liaisons with Sammy:

> ...our young gymnast and lecturer has accompanied Julia home not less than a dozen times! Of course, if Sammy had been Mr. Barkenstir's coachman, or his servant, nothing would have been thought of so trivial a matter ... for instead of being at this time anybody's servant, Sammy was a gymnast and a lecturer on anatomy, physiology, and hygiene, the last word having reference to the art of preserving health. Therefore, as vulgar prejudice goes, shame on Julia! (5:37).

When artists portrayed blacks among whites, the black body was a status symbol for their white masters. They represented property and loyal service; the purpose of their placement in the pictorial frame was to raise the status of the white figures. The "blacker" they appeared in a painting, the "whiter" (and supposedly more beautiful) the white bodies seemed. As uncultivated servants, they could not touch the white body— physical contact would increase the black's status or mark the relationship as overtly sexual. Exceptions to this were some portrayals that paired a black servant

holding a white baby or small child. In the lithograph depicting Uncle Tom and Little Eva, Eva's touch marked Tom as a Christian and an acceptable black man to interact with cultivated whites [Fig 26]. Uncle Tom became the model of the desexualized Christian slave, and perhaps the only type of black male that could have physical contact with a white girl.[91] In art, physical space usually demarcated the black body from the white body whereas missionary allusions, such as Uncle Tom, permitted chaste contact between the former and latter.

Foote's characters, Sammy and Julia, willingly cross this space without Christian conversion. Free-Thinkers argued that interracial marriage should not only be a right but that such unions would be "uplifting for the nation."[92] They believed that mixing blacks and whites together was good for society and helped to eradicate racial prejudice. Foote follows this logic and alleges that the progeny would have the best qualities of both races.[93]

Most of the public, however, believed that miscegenation was a violation of natural law. According to Nott and Gliddon, blacks and whites were different species. Therefore the coupling of the two upset the scientific ordering of mankind, and was also profoundly perverse. Copulation between blacks and whites was a threat to established categories, signifying the grotesque hybrid.

Some of the earliest visual examples depicting miscegenation are from art history featuring satyrs raping nymphs. The satyr, a sexualized hybrid with animal loins, was a dark-skinned fantastic ravaging the naked light-skinned nymph. Artists

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[91] M. Wood 2000, 190.
[92] Lemire 2002, 115.
[93] Sappol 2002, 265.

occasionally used black men as models, to contrast the pure white skin of the female in peril [Fig 27]. The image of the lascivious hybrid monster contributed to existing fears of race suicide.

In 1863, two Democrats—the editor of the *New York World*, David Goodman Croly, and one of the *World*'s reporters, George Wakeman—collaborated on a pamphlet entitled *Miscegenation: The Theory of the Blending of the Races, Applied to the American White Man and the Negro.* In the pamphlet, they posed as two Republicans who advocated for miscegenation while marshalling "scientific evidence *against* inter-marriage insofar as they were aiming to convince readers of the opposite views to those they were pretending to advocate."[94] Croly and Wakeman cited disproved studies of human origins to convince readers that the Republican Party based their support for racial equality on faulty information. Croly and Wakeman also distorted Republican advocacy for equal opportunity as encouragement of interracial unions. Their mock argument sparked the publication of many more pamphlets including Dr. John Van Evrie's *Subgenation: The Theory of the Normal Relation of the Races* (New York, 1864) which stated: "there should be severe laws passed punishing any sexual intercourse between the races" so that there will be no "weaker or hybrid race. Mingling leads to social decay and national suicide."[95] The cover illustration for an 1864 pamphlet entitled *What Miscegenation Is!* (New York) depicts a perverse kiss between a black man and a white woman [Fig 28]. The image follows in the tradition of the satyr raping the nymph.

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[94] Lemire 2002, 127-128.
[95] Van Evrie 1864, 68.

Only ten years later, Stephens illustrated Sammy and Julia's kiss [Fig 29]. He composes them in the same position as the *What Miscegenation Is!* frontispiece—she on the left and he on the right, their left arms around each other and their bodies joined by a kiss. In Stephens' drawing, they hold hands marking the point of a heart-shaped embrace. Their hands also signify an equal and reciprocating partnership as opposed to the domination of the predatory satyr over the female in peril. Without gross exaggeration of his lips, Sammy emits a tender smile. They wear respectable clothing and hats to designate class status, with her feathered hat high above his. Julia's closed eyes demonstrate her lack of concern of what others might think about her, whereas his open eyes indicate otherwise. This passionate moment is not theirs alone—a figure peers through the blinds of the Barkenstir home with a look of horror.

Mr. Barkenstir's confrontation with Sammy about this and other liaisons with his daughter leads to a discussion of miscegenation and racial equality. In this meeting, Sammy protests defiantly against the words of the elite white man:

> White men are constantly decrying miscegenation, miscegenation! while they are the only ones that want to miscegenate, if my eyes and ears convey the right impressions to my senses. You will find a dozen white men seeking wives or their equivalents among the colored women to one black man that is seeking to marry or take to himself a white woman! (5:53)

Sammy has an awareness of prejudice and racial inequality which dissuades him from marrying Julia. Besides the sexual vulgarity attributed to interracial coupling, cultural stereotypes spread the idea that black men married white women to heighten their economic and social status. Sammy avoids this stereotype by refusing to enter into a mixed-race marriage, citing the social difficulties of such a union: "the question is by no means settled that such crossings of races are favorable to the happiness of the parties immediately concerned, or to the welfare of offspring born of such a marriage." Sammy acknowledges the prejudices and "physiological doubts" of mixed race coupling and charges that:

> our [black] race should wait till it overtakes yours [white] in education and social position, or at least till it has the same educational and social advantages, before it places the white wife of a black man, or the white husband of a black woman in the position liable to be assailed by the vulgar with insinuations engendered of low minds, and by the educated with those prejudices which would give the partner of off-color no resting place in the social circles of either race. (5:53-54).

Clearly, Sammy has considered the social ramifications of a marital union with Julia. He believes that an interracial marriage would damage his reputation as a rising black figure in medicine. Although Sammy declines her hand, Foote portrays him as a victim of society who must turn down happiness in order to maintain respect from his peers.

One-hundred and fifty pages after Mr. Barkenstir's confrontation and the couple's "break-up," Stephens' image of their goodnight kiss appears in volume five. This sequencing of the image, long after the event in the text, correlated with Julia's failing health. The narrator explains that the cause of her illness is her broken heart, from the termination of her romantic relationship with Sammy and on learning of his engagement to a young black woman with the "sanguineous temperament." After reading about Julia's and Sammy's breakup, Foote's readers view the illustration of the happier time, generating sympathy for the interracial relationship and Julia's genuine affection for Sammy. Although the kiss offers no happy ending for Sammy and Julia's relationship, the placement of the grotesque image towards the end of the volume reasserts Free-Thought idealism in a poignant rendering.

While not all Free-Thinkers believed that blacks and whites were the same species, Free-Thought ideology championed the cause of racial equality. Foote advocated for egalitarianism in his direct attack on prejudice, and visually through Stephens' goodnight kiss illustration. Both imagery and text support the mixing of races as a means of measuring educational, social, and economic equality.

Foote configured the goodnight kiss illustration as a non-humorous grotesque with which he intended to elicit sympathy and compassion for interracial romance and race equality. However, this study would not be complete without a consideration of Foote's humorous grotesques that expressed the other values of Free-Thought.

Chapter V. Grotesque Humor and Freedom of Speech

"Good joke!," grunts out Sammy with a half-suppressed giggle, for he did not know whether it was proper to laugh in the presence of the bony remains of those who had once lived in the flesh (Foote 1:65).

Oliver Wendell Holmes wrote, "Manslaughter... is the same as man's laughter."[96] *Science in Story* is full of farces and pranks with skeletons, soiled toilet paper, mock body parts, and monkeys—all relative to the carnivalesque. Foote's humor conveyed the downward movement of the grotesque: conjuring images of the underworld and afterlife, and centering on the lower bodily stratum where elimination and reproduction occur. According to Bakhtin, the carnivalesque could evoke humor because it brought to the fore the bodily appetites and processes denounced as socially revolting and inappropriate. By directing the focus to the body's parts and functions censored by polite society, the carnivalesque can also be a platform to voice suppressed ideas.[97] To ridicule the obscenity regulations, Foote punctuates *Science in Story* with grotesque symbols that comically represent the causes of Free-Thought: racial equality, spiritualism, free-love, free-speech, and sex education.

In *Traps for the Young*, Comstock implies that black men are untrusting, who take money from whites through immoral means and trickery.[98] Clearly Foote means to offer a new representation of black men to counter Comstock's, and accomplishes this by also addressing racism. The prejudiced (white) Dr. Winkles applies blackface

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[96] Quoted in West 2000, 22.
[97] Bakhtin 1984,82-83.
[98] Comstock refers to blacks in sensationalized fiction: "There is an account of a negro and a beautiful but abandoned woman making their home in a cave, where in four days they dig gold to the amount of $1,750,000 to which they add $200,000 by speculation in Wall Street" (26). Comstock also mentions blacks as readers of "dream books," in which they deceptively take money from naïve patrons (77).

make-up, wig, and black mask to attend Sammy's lecture on the (Sponsie #1's) brain. He interrogates Sammy with a "black-voice" and an intelligence that raises doubts about his racial authenticity. Sammy suspects that it is Winkles ridiculing him behind his blackness, and to verify this, Sponsie #2 emerges and removes Winkles' mask. With Winkles exposed as a fraud, the (mostly black) audience's gaze turns to the disgraced Winkles who mocked their race. The transposition of the racial "other" from blacks to Winkles becomes a humorous form of racial retribution. In Stephens' striking image, the shamed Winkles looks into a mirror finding marks of blackness left from his blackface appearance [Fig 30]. Stephens captions this "Dr. Winkles views his remains" in which the wordplay associates "the [blackface] remains" with human remains, or the blackening corpse. It is a profound moment in which Winkles meets his own prejudice and is ashamed; for Foote's readers it is a moment of justice that is also humorous. In addition to the good-night kiss image from the previous section, this image promotes racial equality by condemning prejudice. Although there were no restrictions against critiques of race relations in the obscenity laws, the grotesque display of racial justice counters Comstock's representations of the conniving black man.

Comstock condemned publications and devices that aided reproductive control. As an unabashed self-promoter, Foote creatively advertises his services, publications, and inventions within his children's story. None were more unusual than his self-patented electro-magnetic contraceptive machine.

Animal magnetism, a method ridiculed as "quackery" in the nineteenth-century, indicated that an electro-magnetic force was capable of re-animating otherwise inanimate material.[99] After Sponsie #1's attempted suicide by hanging, Dr. Hubbs resuscitates him with his electro-magnetic invention: "The doctor had a machine, and in a few moments he was applying the positive electrode to the monkey's head and spine, while the little practitioner was applying the negative electrode to the chest, pit of the stomach, and extremities" (3:48). Since Dr. Hubbs represented Foote himself, both physically and in his role of paternalistic educator, the electro-magnetic machine represented the same invention Foote patented for birth control. As a device, it offered the grotesque services of degeneration (killing sperm) in real-life, and regeneration (reviving the dead) in the story. Since the obscenity regulations prohibited Foote from advertising his contraceptive machine, he wrote an electro-magnetic machine into his children's story to elicit interest in his invention's possibilities. The scenario marked the grotesque's tropes of the pregnant death and the body as renewable material—in which the reviving of Sponsie is morbid comedy.

The Sponsies' bodies served as material primed for the underworld of the undead and the connection to Spiritualism. The monkeys behaved like devils causing mischief in the doctor's office. The narrator describes the incarceration of Sponsie #2 by Sponsie #1 within the wooden planks of the doctor's attic, in which Sponsie #1 feeds the former as if a prisoner. However during Sponsie #1's recovery from his attempted suicide, he is unable to feed Sponsie #2. As a result, the imprisoned Sponsie pounds on the wooden planks and screams in agony from starvation. In this

[99] Falk 1969, 536 & 540.

sequence, the narrator stresses the importance of feeding one's "corpuscular moners," and the body's torment if starved of its nutrients. He informs his readers about the imprisoned monkey so that they could enjoy the ensuing havoc. "Mum is the word," the narrator says, requesting that they keep it a secret (3:55).

The noises frighten Dr. Hubbs' live-in office staff, who think the sounds are of ghost monkeys writhing in misery. The narrator describes diabolical chaos: "Chasing the ghosts of monkeys, who were slippery enough in the flesh, is about as uncertain an undertaking, as slapping the face for mosquitos, hunting Florida undergarments for fleas, or feeling about for matches in a strange room at midnight" (3:75). Stephens envisioned these diableries as winged monkeys haunting the sleeping inhabitants of Dr. Hubbs' office [Fig 31].[100] Resembling gargoyles perched on architectural rooflines, the ghost monkeys represented chimeras and the undead from the underworld. They conveyed grotesque humor at the expense of Sponsie's deprivation of nourishment, as well as the readers' awareness of the real situation.

To investigate the eerie noises caused by the hidden monkey, Dr. Hubbs hires a Spiritualist. Spiritualism, which swept across the United States beginning in the 1840s, concentrated on communication with the dead and asserted that the living and deceased co-existed.[101] Spiritualism also alleged that the afterlife could guide the living to their spiritual mate through messengers. Alternative interpretations stressed

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[100] As antecedents to *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz*, Stephens' winged monkeys were fresh in the minds of children by 1900 when L. Frank Baum's *Oz* series debuted. Foote continued to print *Science in Story* through the 1890s. It was likely the only American illustrated children's series that contained winged monkeys prior to *Oz*. It is conceivable that *Oz*'s creatures originated from those in *Science in Story*.

[101] J. Wood 2008, 13.

the importance of finding one's spiritual mate even if it damaged the marital bonds. During séances, materialized bodies gave participants the opportunity to touch or be touched for sexual arousal. Supporting or participating in these spiritual liaisons ran counter to the norms of bourgeois marriage. Comstock considered these séances obscene, and directly referred to "obscene images" as "vile phantoms" which "haunt the mind."[102] Molly McGarry argues that the nineteenth-century's fascinations with spirituality and sexuality generated fear of sexual images that disturbed the public, thereby creating America's first moral panic over obscene materials in the mail.[103] Although *Science in Story*'s ghost monkeys were nonsexual entities, they nonetheless represented Spiritualism which Comstock condemned.

Foote concluded his five-volume series with the themes of elimination and reproduction—the grotesque's functions of degeneration and regeneration. Both processes are in the domain of the lower bodily stratum, the sphere of sex and waste, and the region that society suppressed as vulgar. The narrator explains: "Children are taught that performance of the function of discharging the waste is one of which to be ashamed" (5:27). He describes human fecal waste as a bi-product of degeneration, a material of decomposing and digested remains. When the body eliminates matter, it renews and begins a new cycle of ingestion. If the body cannot eliminate, it continues the process of degeneration until death—therefore elimination is essential to good health.

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[102] McGarry 2000, 9-14.
[103] McGarry 2000, 8.

Foote handled the sexual content tactfully. He included unconventional pagination in which parents could remove pages that they deemed too explicit for their children. Clearly depicted on these pages were the pelvic areas of a male and female, showing their interior organs [Fig 32]. The Hicklin rule used between the Civil War and World War I explained that if "*any* passage was found to be obscene, the *whole* work was considered obscene."[104] By this proclamation, volume five was obscene—but there is no evidence that the government prosecuted Foote for this published material.

In addition to Foote's creative use of pagination to offer parental control, flower reproduction became a euphemism for the human equivalent. Some of *Science in Story's* editions included diagrams entitled "Reproductive organs of the morning glory" and "Sammy's diagram" which compared illustrations of the flower's sexual parts to "an anthropomorphized singing vagina" and an erect phallus [Fig 33].[105] Sappol notes:

> In nineteenth century pedagogical anatomy, the space between the legs was left blank, a *terra incognita*, or placed entirely outside the pictorial frame… Like pornography of the *ancien regime*, the breaching of taboos on the public discussion and representation of sexual organs—especially in the domain of formal education for children—signified an attack on the authority of the state, religion, and fathers and husbands (268).

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[104] J. Wood 2008, 44.

[105] This is Sappol's term, which describes the illustration of the musical note hovering over the female organ. (268)

In light of the obscenity laws of the 1870s, representing sexual anatomy was a threat to the moral canon. The diagram featuring a vagina with a floating music note would have been perceived as morally outrageous. Within *Science in Story's* imprints between 1874 and 1887, this diagram is the only known alteration that Foote made to the series.[106] It is plausible to assume that Comstock ordered Foote to revise the diagram in various editions.[107]

What did Foote communicate with the "singing vagina?" Women often suffered from dangerous pregnancies without the knowledge of contraceptives. Furthermore, if husbands and wives could enjoy intercourse without the worry of pregnancy, the former would develop fewer relationships with sexually diseased prostitutes. For these reasons, Foote believed that American reform should begin with women controlling their own reproduction.[108]

Placing a musical note over the female organ marks a woman's bodily empowerment over her reproductive processes, her right to free-love, and freedom to express her ideas. During the 1870s, when restrictions were placed on birth control and the rights of women, the image of the "singing vagina" comically touted the First Amendment. It defied Comstock's efforts in its graphic depiction of the unmentionable region, which in turn Foote used to teach children about sexual

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[106] Sappol 2002, 375.
[107] Foote revised and replaced the sexual diagram with pictures of yeast cells or animal conjugation—and in some versions he re-wrote the text that corresponds to the illustration (Sappol 375). Foote's personal records no longer exist, therefore the reason for the diagram's many versions remains ambiguous.
[108] J. Wood 2008, 18.

reproduction. *Science in Story* directed the symbol's grotesque humor at Comstock for the entertainment of Foote's friends, who themselves were targets of Comstock's vice-hunters.[109]

Comstock's efforts infringed upon the rights of women and children, limiting their understanding of their bodies' most intimate functions. *Science in Story* defied this when Sammy lectured to crowds of males and females separately on the procreative organs and processes. Sammy argued against restrictions based upon age, race, or gender. The improbability of a black teenager instructing females of all colors and ages on their sexual anatomy reflected the idealism of Free-Thought [Fig 34]: "There he [Sammy] stood, the only one of his sex, in a hall crowded with women of all ages and colors... The charts were conspicuously displayed, and, although they referred to parts of the system which had been tabooed by false education, no one seemed to be embarrassed or affronted, for with the pictures came revelations which impressed them profoundly" (5:198). This sequence demonstrates women's desire to learn about anatomy and details their level of comfort in attaining knowledge of the body's sexual processes.

Foote hypothesized that the propagation of mental disorders resulted from the restrictions placed on reproductive information. According to Buchanan's sarcognomic chart, the locations of these illnesses are in the reproductive region [Fig

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[109] Foote (and his son) financially supported many reformers, abolitionists, and radicals including Charles Bardlaugh and Annie Besant, Edward Truelove, Ezra Heywood, D.M. Bennett, Susan B. Anthony, and Moses Harman and Lillian Harman of the *Lucifer the Lightbearer* newspaper. Foote advertised his publications frequently in *Lucifer* (Sears 1977, 198). Foote's closest associates were D.M. Bennett and Ida Craddock (J. Wood 2008, 41). Stephen Pearl Andrews also wrote to Foote (J. Wood 2008, 133).

35]. Foote developed a theory of eugenics that was different from progressive eugenics (which supported governmental measures to rid society of the insane, criminal, and the poor).[110] Instead, his theory worked for the preventive measures to halt the population growth of the physically and mentally defective. He opposed the coupling of those who had hereditary disorders which would then pass onto their offspring and taint the population.[111] Decreasing the numbers of the undesirable population would improve the quality of the overall human race. The use of contraception and sex education as methods to limit the growth of the undesirable population factored into his eugenics:

> There are laws governing the birth of General Tom Thumbs, Commodore Nuts, Admiral Dots, etc... It may not be too much to say that all monstrosities, physical and moral, are the results of ignorance of the laws governing the important functions of procreation... Remember that in Professor Buchanan's chart of the Outlines of Sarcognomy, the region of Insanity is located in that portion of the trunk of the body occupied by the procreative organs. This region, without question, is the point of termination of a large number of nerve-fibres having their origin in those organs of the brain which are the seat of the passions and emotions. (5:212-213)

By addressing the "laws governing the important functions of procreation" and the resulting "ignorance" of such restrictions, Foote directly attacks Comstock's efforts to

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[110] Sears 1977, 124.
[111] Sears 1977, 191.

block the trafficking of birth control and sex education. Foote charges that the effects of Comstock's laws will result in the majority of the population becoming deficient in mental and physical health. Foote's support to curb hereditary problems in the population through birth control also reflected Free-Thought's belief in eugenics.[112]

Although Foote championed contraceptives, he strongly opposed abortion.[113] In the conclusion to the series, he expressed these views with a humorously grotesque scenario. To prepare the remaining monkey's body for a taxidermy sculpture, Sammy and Dr. Hubbs remove Sponsie's skin and head, and then perform an autopsy. They place the gross remains in a coffin and leave them available for people to view [Fig 36]. A passing spectator misconstrues the monkey's corpse as belonging to a child or fetus, and thus accuses the doctors of infanticide.

Policemen arrest Dr. Hubbs and Dr. Winkles, who was in the wrong place at the wrong time. "'This is a funny experience!' remarked Doctor Hubbs to his friend Winkles. 'It seems as if Sponsie's ruling passion was strong in death. He was always getting some of us into a scrape when he was alive, and now that he is lying stone dead, he is involving us in novel perplexity! Nor has it taken the whole of him to do that, for his head and skin are over at my house!'" (5:228). The mutilated monkey not

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[112] Free-Thought's eugenics were, like Foote's, based on hereditary problems. However, their theory was slightly different. They believed that if a woman is submissive in a male dominated marriage, then the woman would reproduce unfit and "slavish" progeny. Free-Thinkers supported birth control to give women more control in their marriage and more pleasure during intercourse, which would therefore create healthier and more ambitious children (Sears 1977, 121-122).

[113] Comstock championed a crackdown against birth control, categorizing abortions and contraceptives together because both eliminated the consequences of illicit sexual behavior. In 1876, he presented a document signed by a group of New York allopaths, or mainstream doctors, that testified only "quacks" prescribed contraceptives and abortions (J. Wood 2008, 52). Conversely, Foote opposed abortion and infanticide while defending contraceptives as responsible alternatives. He submitted a countermeasure to the legislature, but Comstock blocked it. *The New York Times* headlined the story "A Blow to the Quack Doctors" and reported that Foote promoted the introduction of the bill, thus associating his practices with quackery (*NYTimes* 3/29/1876).

only produced renewable material for autopsy and taxidermy, but it also was a subject of humor. Sponsie's "ruling passion" bests his own death, providing the last laugh in Foote's series. The defeat of death transforms the gravity of mortality into comedy. The outward showing of Sponsie's gruesome body and Foote's irreverent text conflicts with respectable treatment of the dead, which entailed burying the body in consecrated ground. If the soul or character was analogous to the physical body, then a grisly corpse indicated a tortured and malevolent spirit. This display in Foote's story is reminiscent of the "grinning skull" from William Shakespeare's *Hamlet.* The skull was once "a fellow of infinite jest, of most excellent fancy,"[114] in which the lifeless object's surprising verve signaled humor. Likewise, the former "troublesome monkey" prolonged his antics post-mortem by creating confusion over his dead body.

Post-mortem, Sponsie's mangled corpse tricked those unfamiliar with anatomy. Contrary to Sammy's correct distinction between the human skeleton and that of the ape, the uneducated could not tell the difference between an aborted child and monkey remains. Consequently, Foote portrayed those duped by Sponsie's remains as fools—reinforcing the importance of learning anatomy.

Comstock considered "light literature" to be "a devil-trap to captivate a child by perverting taste and fancy."[115] Yet there is little evidence indicating Comstock's meddling in Foote's children's series. There was no public controversy over *Science in Story* as there was for Foote's later publication *Words in Pearl*, in which Comstock

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[114]Shakespeare, William. *Hamlet.* Sc.1 verses 203-204
[115] Comstock 1883, 12.

arrested Foote for obscenity.[116] With Foote's papers destroyed by fire, as well as his son's, any personal correspondence between Foote and Comstock over *Science in Story* has been lost to history.[117]

Based upon our understanding of Victorian conventions of society, *Science in Story* seems like a radical text, yet there was no harsh criticism denouncing its critical opinions. Though radical compared to conservatism, it could have been considered mainstream in terms of social liberalism. Therefore, some periodicals would not have made the series' content an issue. On the other hand, it is conceivable the nineteenth-century media suppressed this radicalism with "Comstockian" silence. This was the era in which the most intimate functions of the body were unmentionable. Printing public objections against the series would only have drawn attention to it. Reviews advertised the series emphasizing its minstrel show qualities—that it entertained and educated children with a black boy and his monkey. None of the reviews addressed *Science in Story's* arguments. The series' radical ideas, unmentioned in print media, occupy a silent space in history—accounting for history's own unfamiliarity with the Free-Thought liberalism that occurred at the end of the century.

Some of *Science in Story's* editions included the fifth volume, but it was also sold separately entitled *Sexual Physiology for the Young* (1882). Prior to the

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[116] In 1876, authorities arrested Foote for mailing his publication *Words in Pearl* to a woman who requested it through postal order. Comstock, however, used the woman as a decoy to file charges against Foote. *Words in Pearl* contained information on the contraceptive methods and devices that Foote marketed (Sears 1977, 194). After a short time, authorities released Foote on bail. He continued to champion the First Amendment until his death and bailed out others incarcerated by Comstock. (Sappol 2002, 244).

[117] A house fire destroyed Foote's personal papers just before his death. To further limit the primary sources, Foote's daughter-in-law burned his son's papers and any papers that remained of his own (J. Wood 2008, 6).

volume's release, *The Independent* commented: "We question the advisability of the preparation of a book like this proposed one for children of an age to be interested in this series, since information concerning the subjects to be discussed can, as a rule, be better given by judicious parents than by any printed words."[118] *The Independent* argued that this sensitive topic should be strictly between parents and children, without circulating printed information on the subject. The lone sex volume received minimal coverage in newspaper reviews compared with the series' first four volumes, which reviewers heralded as highly appropriate for children and a great gift for the holidays [Fig 37].

[118] *The Independent*. November 26, 1874; 9.

Conclusion

"The uneducated man is dumb before the man of science, the man of science is equally dumb before his Creator. Nature is daily putting questions to our most cultivated men, which they vainly strive to answer. Let none of us, then, be ashamed to ask questions." (Foote 1:194)

Throughout history, the grotesque has had qualities that support a liberating and reformist spirit. Most recently, the bloodied face of Neda Agha-Soltan has become a rallying cry for the opposition in Iran. Iranians use the image of her corpse to represent the Iranian government's victimization of peaceful demonstrators, and she is also the face of the liberation movement. *Science in Story* is unusual because its grotesques represent socially liberal ideals which simultaneously counter-act the socially conservative regulations. Foote imagines a world that could not exist in the late nineteenth-century due to restrictions on sex education, the segregation of blacks and whites, and their fixed places in the social hierarchy: a black boy becomes a doctor and attractive gymnast, the racist bigot is humiliated, women and children of different races and classes attend lectures about sexual anatomy, and the monkeys' deaths provide anatomy lessons. These images and performances in Foote's text represent the suppressed ideals of the Free-Thinkers.

The *Virginia Star* alludes to the grotesques in its criticism of the series: "An ingeniously contrived plan to lead the youthful mind into the broad field of science through paths strewn with choicest flowers and rarest attractions, until it has attained the great object sought—'know thyself'."[119] This brief comment summarizes what is singular about *Science in Story* from other fantastical works of children's literature of

[119] Advertisement in the *Fonetic Ticher*. Saint Louis, MO. Vol. IV March, 1883. p159.

the time. Unlike *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* (1865), Foote's series uses grotesques to enhance self-knowledge—marking America's infatuation with self-improvement and the individual's desire for locating a center for "the self." The Delphic Oracle's phrase, "know thyself," resonated with power at the end of the nineteenth-century, in which the Free-Thought idealism in Foote's series forced Americans to reconsider their own views of race, gender, and sexuality.

Science in Story circulated for approximately thirty years.[120] Foote retailed a bound book of five volumes for two dollars, and sold separate volumes at fifty cents apiece so that parents who objected to the content of the fifth volume could only buy the preceding four.[121] He sold more than 25,000 volumes in the year of the series' initial publication.[122] *Science in Story* circulated beyond its publishing home of New York City. Foote advertised for agents across the United States to sell his series in states such as Vermont, Illinois, Connecticut, Utah, Kansas, and Montana.[123] A powerful self-publisher, he established publishing houses in Berlin, London, and Sweden which printed Foote's *Medical Common Sense* and *Plain Home Talk* in foreign languages.[124] It remains uncertain if *Science in Story* managed to sell in

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[120] *Lucifer the Light Bearer* last advertised *Science in Story* in 1903.
[121] Sears 1977, 189.
[122] In 1899, Foote claimed he sold nearly one million copies of his books, including *Medical Common Sense*, *Plain Home Talk*, and *Science in Story* (Foote, *Anaconda Standard,* 1899, p11). This number may be hyperbolic.
[123] Searching "*Science in Story*" on the America's Historical Newspapers Database will list reviews and advertisements for the series in these states.
[124] Foote made these declarations in his editorial for the *Anaconda Standard* (1899) and in the advertisement in the *Fonetic Ticher* (1883). Consulting the Karlsruher Virtueller Katalog (KVK), a searchable database that covers national libraries worldwide, results for "Edward Bliss Foote" publications appear in London, German, Swedish, and Italian national libraries. London and Italy hold titles printed in English; Germany and Sweden have titles in German and Swedish. No European national libraries have holdings for *Science in Story*.

Europe, but Foote assured its American distribution for decades. His children's series eventually faded from public memory as its content became outdated.

Science in Story's legacy represents an under-explored domain of Free-Thought liberalism in the post-bellum era. The budding fields of anatomy and physiology revealed the body as a marvelous organism, which people viewed with both disgust and fascination. "Man is both fearfully and wonderfully made,"[125] declared Sammy Tubbs during one of his concluding lectures (Foote 5:35). Within this thesis, Foote created an entertaining story to express an ideal world where the body and its processes could be studied without guilt, prejudice, or sexism. Thus, *Science in Story* was a significant generational catalyst for the Left at the turn of the century.

[125] "I praise you because I am fearfully and wonderfully made; your works are wonderful, I know that full well" is from Psalm 139:14. The phrase was widely used in evolutionary discourse at the end of the nineteenth-century as people confronted the scientific arguments of human design. Its meaning recognized the wonder of science but was also anxious about what it revealed.

Chapter I. The Grotesque: What Lies Beneath

Fig 1. Giovanni Antonio de Brescia, after Nicoletto da Modena. *Ornamental Panel Inscribed "Victoria Augusta,"* c.1516 Engraving. Rosenwald Collection. National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC.

Fig 2. "Our Cousins in the Vegetable World." *Science in Story,* 5:8. 1887. Collection of the University of Rochester Department of Rare Books and Special Collections.

Fig 3. Frank Bellew, "The Modern Frankenstein," published in *The Lantern*, January 31, 1852.

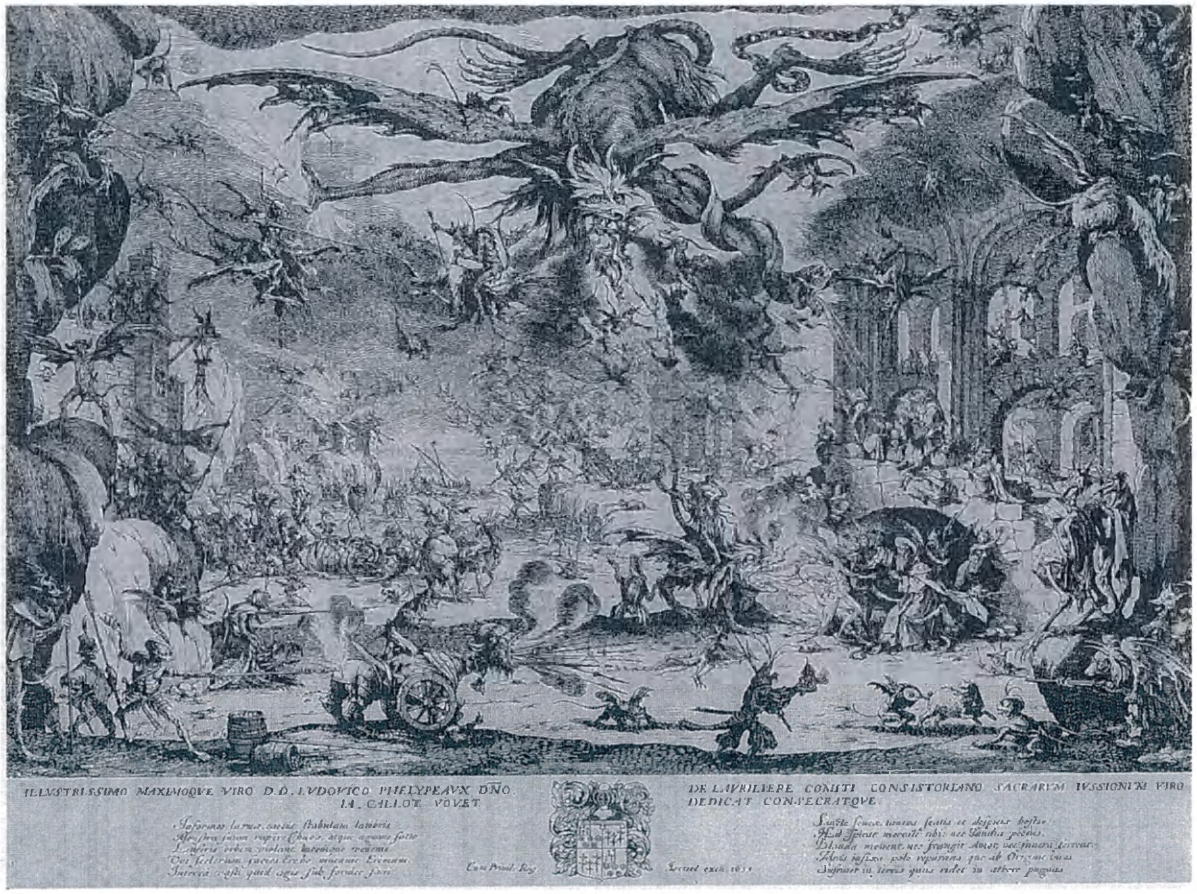


Fig 4. Jacques Callot, *The Temptation of St. Anthony*, second version (etching, 1635).

Fig 5. C.R. Milne, *A Dream: Caused by a perusal of Mrs. H. Beecher Stowe's popular work Uncle Tom's Cabin* (lithograph, 1853).

Fig 6. "Sponsie No. 1 The First Meeting, The Next Move Sponsie No. 2." *Science in Story,* 3:59. 1887. From the University of Rochester Department of Rare Books and Special Collections.

Fig 7. Pieter Bruegel the Elder, "The Battle between Lent and Carnival, 1559." Collection of The Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.

Fig 8. "Love and beauty—Sartjee the Hottentot Venus." Published by Christopher Crupper Rumford, 1811. British Cartoon Prints Collection (Library of Congress).

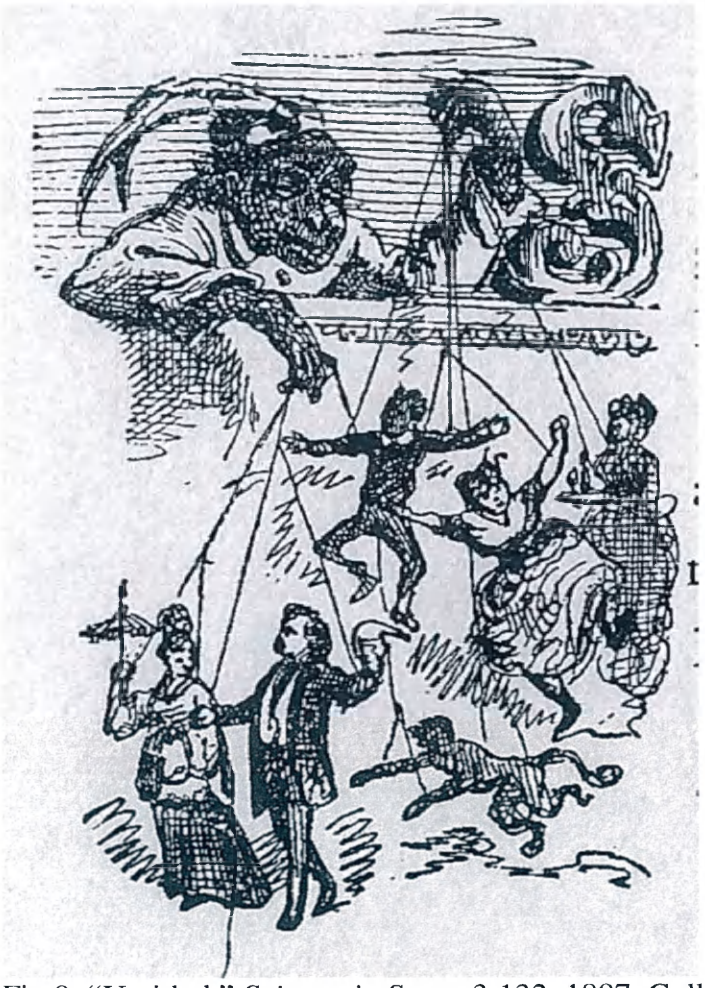
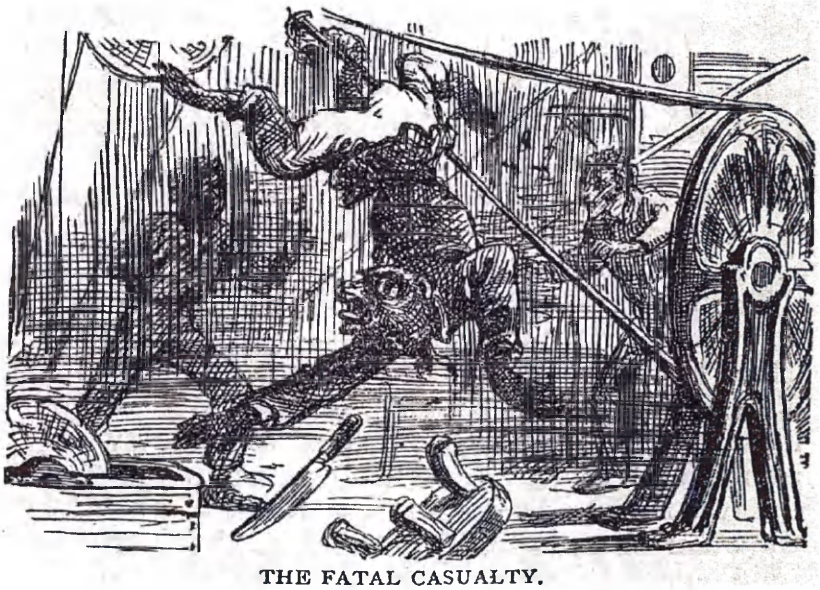


Fig 9. "Untitled." *Science in Story,* 3:132. 1887. Collection of the University of Rochester Department of Rare Books and Special Collections.

Chapter II. Dr. Edward Bliss Foote and His World

Fig 10. Thomas Eakins, *The Gross Clinic*, 1875. Oil on canvas, 96x78." Jefferson Medical College of Thomas Jefferson University, Philadelphia.



THE FATAL CASUALTY.

Fig 11. "The Fatal Casualty." *Science in Story,* 5:189. 1887. Collection of University of Rochester Department of Rare Books and Special Collections.

Fig 12. "And then there were Six." *Ten Little Niggers.* New York: McLoughlin Brothers, 1875. Collection of Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture.

Fig 13. "Sammy & Sponsie." *Science in Story,* 1:23. 1887. Collection of the University of Rochester Department of Rare Books and Special Collections.

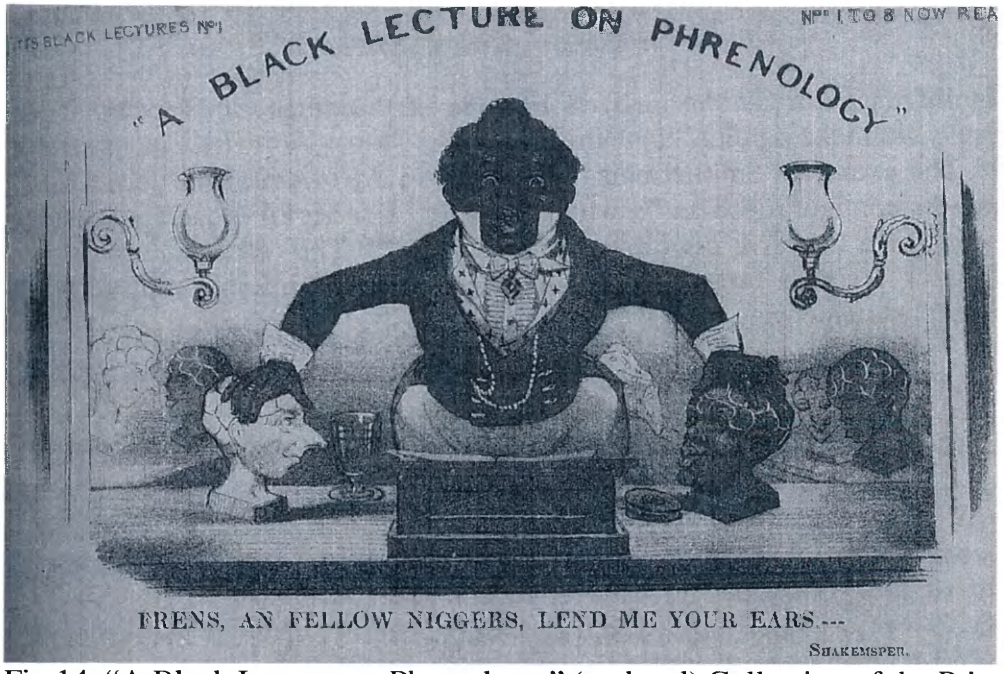


Fig 14. "A Black Lecture on Phrenology." (undated) Collection of the Print Collection, Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University.

Fig 15A. *"Krao," Farini's Missing Link (front).* (undated) Liverpool: Brown, Barnes & Bell. From the private collection of Brad Feuerhelm.

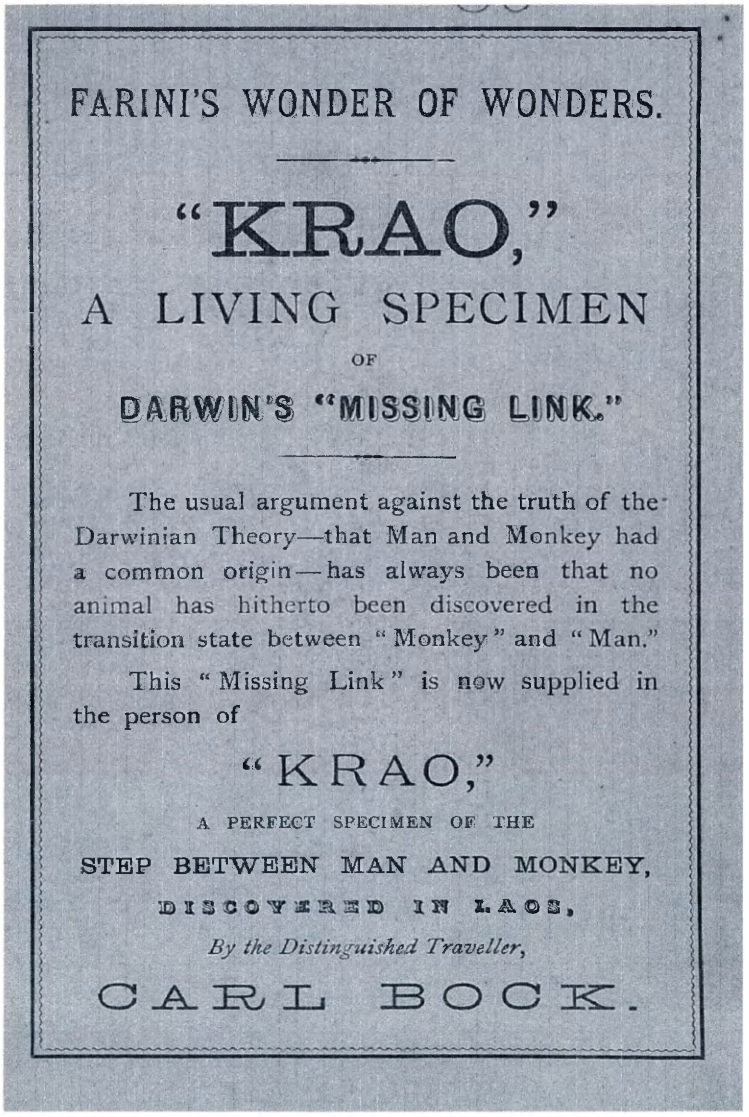


Fig 15B. *"Krao," Farini's Missing Link (back).* (undated) Liverpool: Brown, Barnes & Bell. From the private collection of Brad Feuerhelm.

Fig 16. "The Doctor Scolding the Monkey." *Science in Story,* 2:100. 1887. Collection of the University Rochester Department of Rare Books and Special Collections.

Chapter III. The Aesthetics of Evolution, Race, and the Perfectible Body.

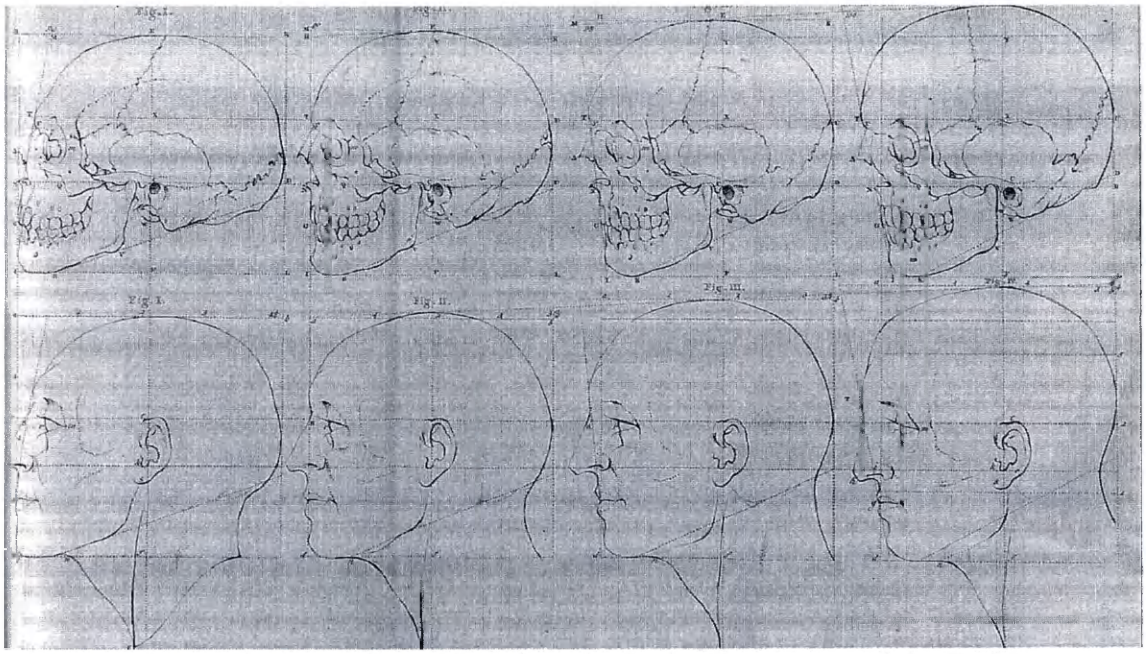


Fig 17A. Camper's engraving of facial angles in the European and the Pythian Apollo.
Petrus Camper. 1794. *The Works of the Late Professor Camper*. Table II. London: Printed for C. Dilly. Collection of the National Library of Medicine

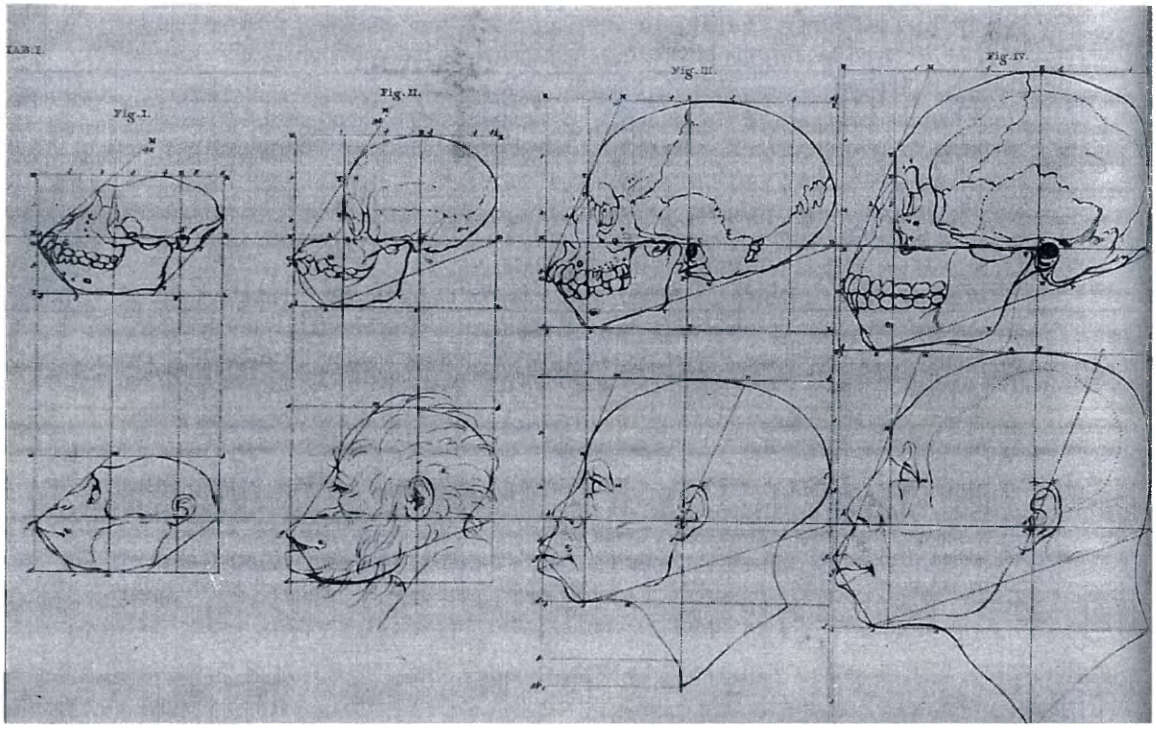


Fig 17 B. Camper's engraving of facial angles in the tailed monkey, orangutan, Angolan, and Kalmuck. Petrus Camper. 1794. *The Works of the Late Professor Camper*. Table I. London: Printed for C. Dilly. Collection of the National Library of Medicine

THE MONSTROSITIES OF THE SHOWMAN.

Fig 18. "The Monstrosities of the Showman." *Science in Story,* 5:213. Collection of the University of Rochester Department of Rare Books and Special Collections.

SAMMY'S SURPRISE.

Fig 19. "Sammy's Surprise." *Science in Story,* 1:64. 1887. Collection of the University of Rochester Department of Rare Books and Special Collections.

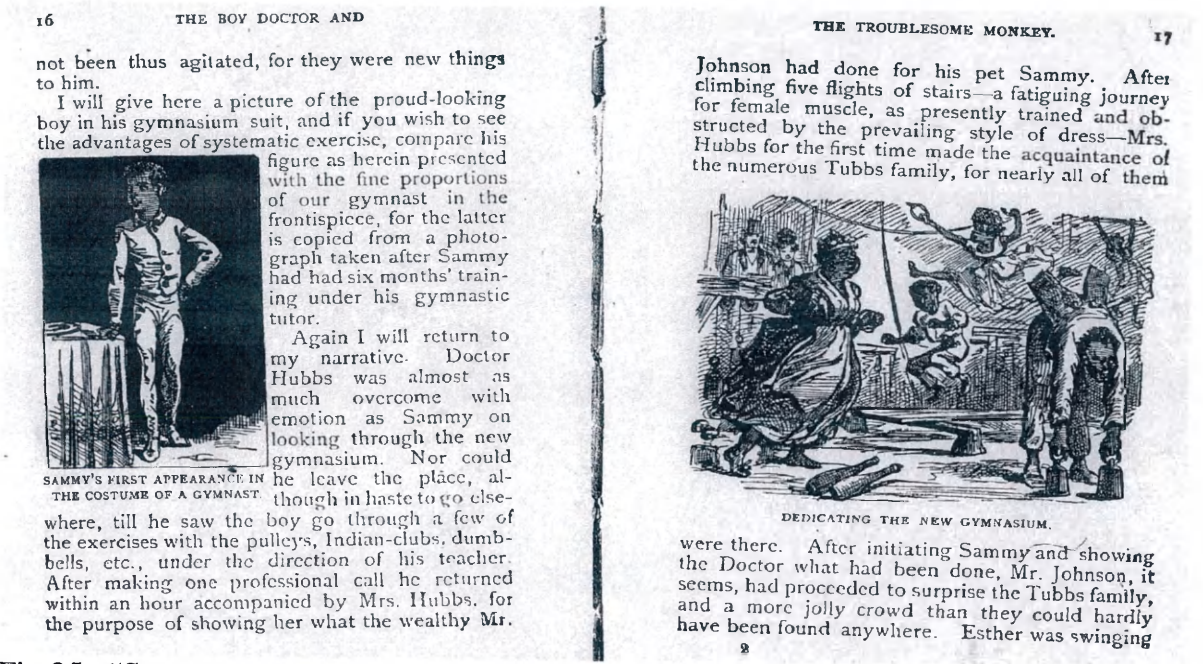
Fig 20. Henry Louis Stephens. "Substance and Shadow." *Vanity Fair*. January 21, 1860.

Fig 21. Henry Louis Stephens. "Black Man Reading by Candlelight," ca.1863. watercolor. Collection of the Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.

Fig 22. Henry Louis Stephens and James Fuller Queen. "Journey of a Slave from the Plantation to the Battlefield," ca. 1863. chromolithograph card sheet. From the Marian S. Carson Collection, Library of Congress.

Fig 23. "'Tis Finished." *Science in Story*, 5:239. 1887. Collection of the University of Rochester Department of Rare Books and Special Collections.

Fig 24. "The Gymnast Tubbs." *Science in Story*, vol.5 frontispiece. 1887. Collection of the University of Rochester Department of Rare Books and Special Collections.



16 THE BOY DOCTOR AND

not been thus agitated, for they were new things to him.

I will give here a picture of the proud-looking boy in his gymnasium suit, and if you wish to see the advantages of systematic exercise, compare his figure as herein presented with the fine proportions of our gymnast in the frontispiece, for the latter is copied from a photograph taken after Sammy had had six months' training under his gymnastic tutor.

SAMMY'S FIRST APPEARANCE IN THE COSTUME OF A GYMNAST.

Again I will return to my narrative. Doctor Hubbs was almost as much overcome with emotion as Sammy on looking through the new gymnasium. Nor could he leave the place, although in haste to go elsewhere, till he saw the boy go through a few of the exercises with the pulleys, Indian-clubs, dumb-bells, etc., under the direction of his teacher. After making one professional call he returned within an hour accompanied by Mrs. Hubbs, for the purpose of showing her what the wealthy Mr.

THE TROUBLESOME MONKEY. 17

Johnson had done for his pet Sammy. After climbing five flights of stairs—a fatiguing journey for female muscle, as presently trained and obstructed by the prevailing style of dress—Mrs. Hubbs for the first time made the acquaintance of the numerous Tubbs family, for nearly all of them

DEDICATING THE NEW GYMNASIUM.

were there. After initiating Sammy and showing the Doctor what had been done, Mr. Johnson, it seems, had proceeded to surprise the Tubbs family, and a more jolly crowd than they could hardly have been found anywhere. Esther was swinging

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Fig 25. "Sammy's First Appearance in the Costume of a Gymnast" and "Dedicating the New Gymnasium." *Science in Story*, 5:16-17. 1887. Collection of the University of Rochester Department of Rare Books and Special Collections.

Chapter IV. The Good Night Kiss: Miscegenation

Fig 26. "Eva Teaching the Alphabet," ca. 1855. Wood-engraving. From *Little Eva the Flower of the South.*

Fig 27. "Satyr Embracing Nymph, ca 1550." After Titian. Oil on canvas. Boymans-van Beuningen Museum, Rotterdam.

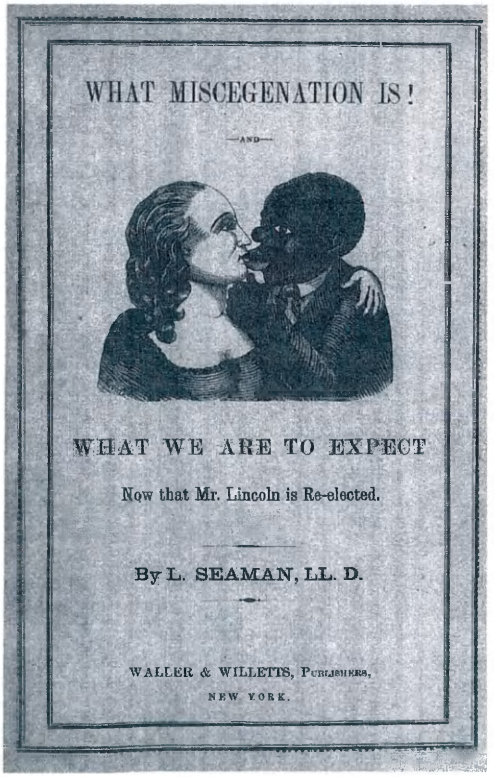


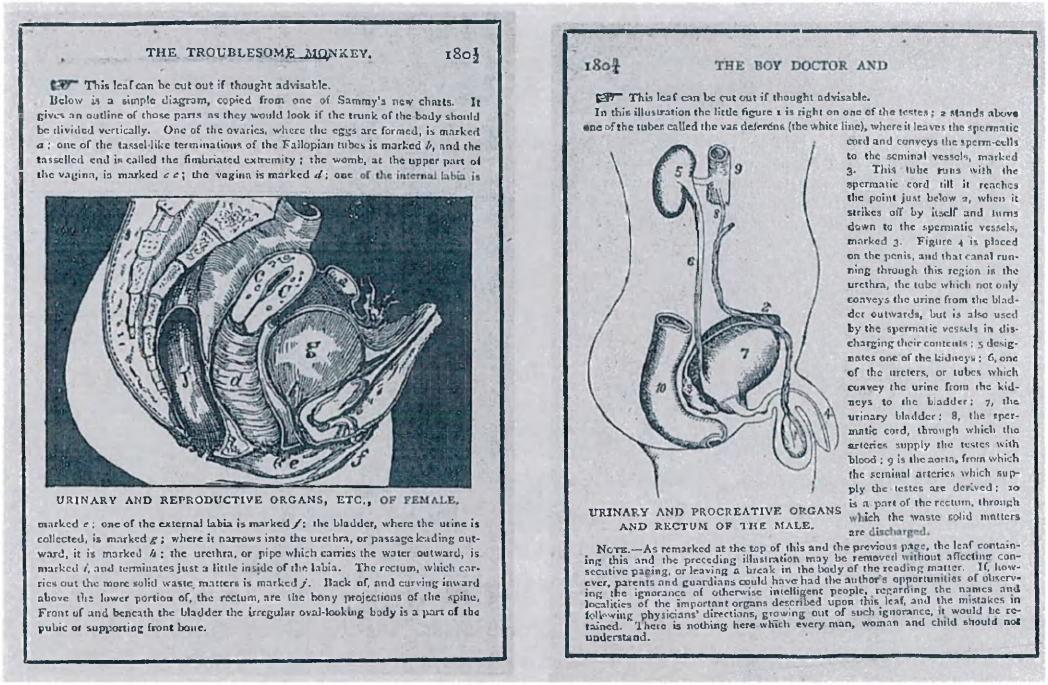
Fig 28. *What Miscegenation Is! And What We Are to Expect Now that Mr. Lincoln is Re-elected* (cover). ca. 1864. Collection of the Brown University Library.

Fig 29. "Untitled." *Science in Story*, 5:203. 1887. Collection of the University of Rochester Department of Rare Books and Special Collections.

Chapter V. Grotesque Humor and Freedom of Speech

Fig 30. "Dr. Winkles Views His Remains." *Science in Story*, 4:47. 1887. Collection of the University of Rochester Department of Rare Books and Special Collections.

Fig 31. "Untitled." *Science in Story*, 3:94. 1887. Collection of the University of Rochester Department of Rare Books and Special Collections.



THE TROUBLESOME MONKEY. 180½

☞ This leaf can be cut out if thought advisable.

Below is a simple diagram, copied from one of Sammy's new chatts. It gives an outline of those parts as they would look if the trunk of the body should be divided vertically. One of the ovaries, where the eggs are formed, is marked *a*; one of the tassel-like terminations of the Fallopian tubes is marked *b*, and the tasselled end is called the fimbriated extremity; the womb, at the upper part of the vagina, is marked *c c*; the vagina is marked *d*; one of the internal labia is

URINARY AND REPRODUCTIVE ORGANS, ETC., OF FEMALE.

marked *e*; one of the external labia is marked *f*; the bladder, where the urine is collected, is marked *g*; where it narrows into the urethra, or passage leading outward, it is marked *h*; the urethra, or pipe which carries the water outward, is marked *i*, and terminates just a little inside of the labia. The rectum, which carries out the more solid waste matters is marked *j*. Back of, and curving inward above the lower portion of, the rectum, are the bony projections of the spine. Front of and beneath the bladder the irregular oval-looking body is a part of the pubic or supporting front bone.

180¼ THE BOY DOCTOR AND

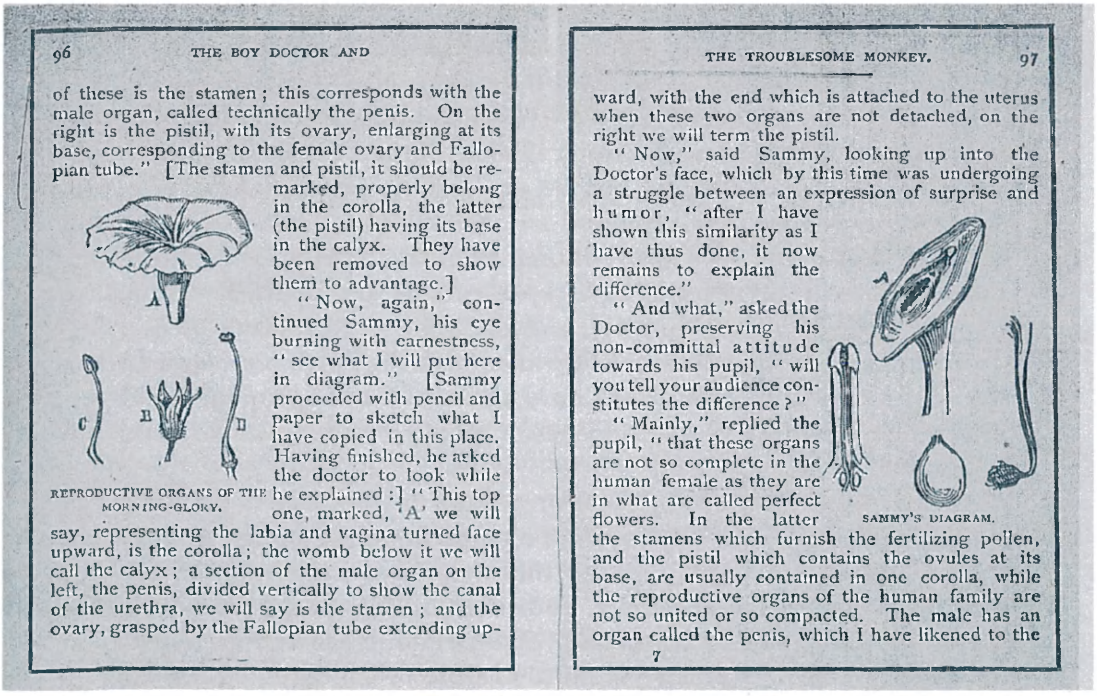
☞ This leaf can be cut out if thought advisable.

In this illustration the little figure 1 is right on one of the testes; 2 stands above one of the tubes called the vas deferens (the white line), where it leaves the spermatic cord and conveys the sperm-cells to the seminal vessels, marked 3. This tube runs with the spermatic cord till it reaches the point just below 2, when it strikes off by itself and turns down to the spermatic vessels, marked 3. Figure 4 is placed on the penis, and that canal running through this region is the urethra, the tube which not only conveys the urine from the bladder outwards, but is also used by the spermatic vessels in discharging their contents; 5 designates one of the kidneys; 6, one of the ureters, or tubes which convey the urine from the kidneys to the bladder; 7, the urinary bladder; 8, the spermatic cord, through which the arteries supply the testes with blood; 9 is the aorta, from which the seminal arteries which supply the testes are derived; 10 is a part of the rectum, through which the waste solid matters are discharged.

URINARY AND PROCREATIVE ORGANS AND RECTUM OF THE MALE.

NOTE.—As remarked at the top of this and the previous page, the leaf containing this and the preceding illustration may be removed without affecting consecutive paging, or leaving a break in the body of the reading matter. If, however, parents and guardians could have had the author's opportunities of observing the ignorance of otherwise intelligent people, regarding the names and localities of the important organs described upon this leaf, and the mistakes in following physicians' directions, growing out of such ignorance, it would be retained. There is nothing here which every man, woman and child should not understand.

Fig 32. "Urinary and Reproductive Organs, etc., of Female and Urinary and Procreative Organs and Rectum of the Male." *Science in Story*, 5:180 ½- 180 ¾. 1876. Collection of the Florida State University Library.



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of these is the stamen; this corresponds with the male organ, called technically the penis. On the right is the pistil, with its ovary, enlarging at its base, corresponding to the female ovary and Fallopian tube." [The stamen and pistil, it should be remarked, properly belong in the corolla, the latter (the pistil) having its base in the calyx. They have been removed to show them to advantage.]

"Now, again," continued Sammy, his eye burning with earnestness, "see what I will put here in diagram." [Sammy proceeded with pencil and paper to sketch what I have copied in this place. Having finished, he asked the doctor to look while he explained:] "This top one, marked, 'A' we will say, representing the labia and vagina turned face upward, is the corolla; the womb below it we will call the calyx; a section of the male organ on the left, the penis, divided vertically to show the canal of the urethra, we will say is the stamen; and the ovary, grasped by the Fallopian tube extending up-

REPRODUCTIVE ORGANS OF THE MORNING-GLORY.

THE TROUBLESOME MONKEY. 97

ward, with the end which is attached to the uterus when these two organs are not detached, on the right we will term the pistil.

"Now," said Sammy, looking up into the Doctor's face, which by this time was undergoing a struggle between an expression of surprise and humor, "after I have shown this similarity as I have thus done, it now remains to explain the difference."

"And what," asked the Doctor, preserving his non-committal attitude towards his pupil, "will you tell your audience constitutes the difference?"

"Mainly," replied the pupil, "that these organs are not so complete in the human female as they are in what are called perfect flowers. In the latter the stamens which furnish the fertilizing pollen, and the pistil which contains the ovules at its base, are usually contained in one corolla, while the reproductive organs of the human family are not so united or so compacted. The male has an organ called the penis, which I have likened to the

SAMMY'S DIAGRAM.

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Fig 33. "Reproductive Organs of the Morning-Glory and Sammy's Diagram." *Science in Story*, 5:96-97. in some 1874 imprint editions. Collection of Florida State University Library.

Fig 34. "Sammy's Private Lecture to the Ladies." *Science in Story*, 5:199. 1887. Collection of the University of Rochester Department of Rare Books and Special Collections.

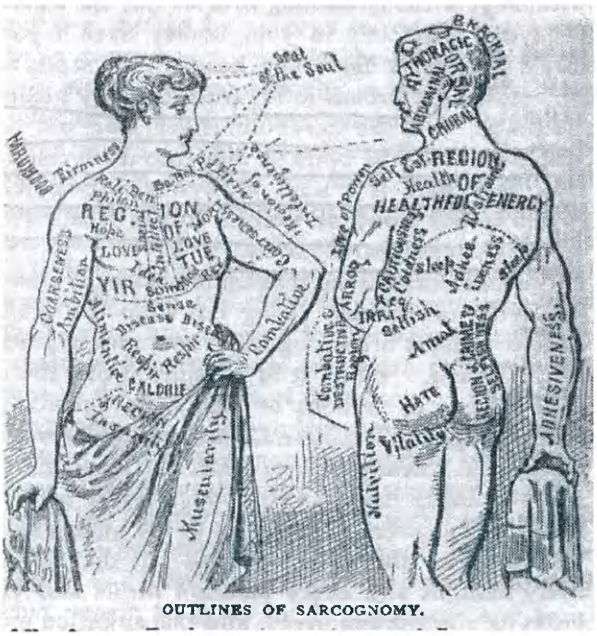

Fig 35. "Outlines of Sarcognomy." *Science in Story*, 4:122. 1887. Collection of the University of Rochester Department of Rare Books and Special Collections.

Fig 36. "Looking for the Last Time on Sponsie." *Science in Story*, 5:216. Collection of the University of Rochester Department of Rare Books and Special Collections.

582 *The Publishers' Weekly.* [*No.* 195, *October* 9, 1875

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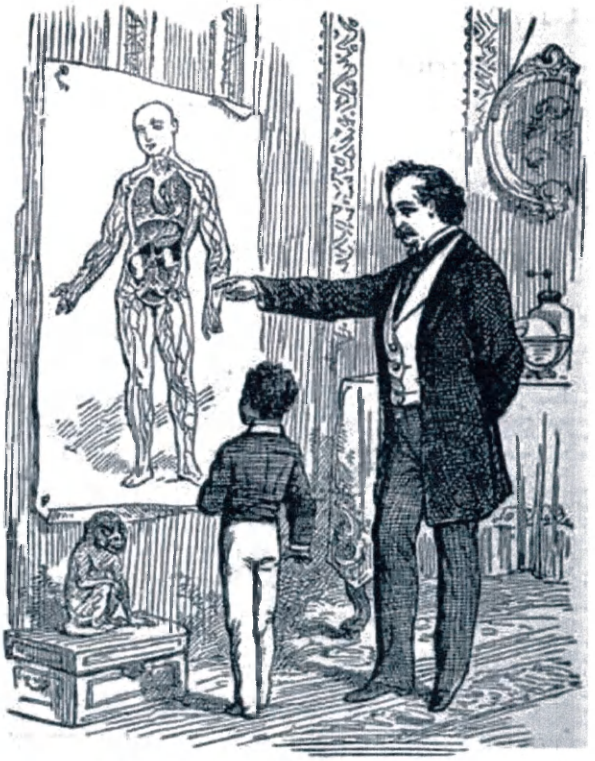

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Fig 37. Advertisement. *Publisher's Weekly.* No 195. October 9, 1875.

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